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## Reagan Takes the Offensive Goes to the Public to Make Case on Arms, Spending

By Hedrick Smith  
New York Times Service  
WASHINGTON — Last Christmas, President Ronald Reagan was feeling beleaguered by Democrats who were taking high after their November election victory. His programs were under attack, and he told aides he felt there was "nobody out there" making his case.

"I want to get out there and tell my side of the story," he declared.

His speech on arms control in Los Angeles Thursday culminated an extraordinary personal effort over the past three weeks that stemmed from his frustration in December.

Mr. Reagan has taken the political offensive on such issues as military spending and arms control, where his policies have been under fire. He has pushed the controversy over the Environmental Protection Agency out of the limelight.

The White House acknowledges that there has been a deliberate

barage through the news media. Mr. Reagan has been as active as a candidate on the stump, adding to speculation that he plans to run for re-election.

He has gone on prime-time television promoting a futuristic missile defense plan; he has delivered a five-minute Christmas message.

NEWS ANALYSIS  
speech to delight his rightist supporters; he has gone before Atlantic Alliance ambassadors to set out a new negotiating position; he has fired salvoes at a Democratic budget that he said gave comfort to the Kremlin; he has charmed the Washington political community with self-deprecating humor at a big dinner; he has experimented with more relaxed news formats in his message across.

His moods have swung from evangelical combativeness in early March at Orlando, Florida, where



COLOMBIA QUAKE — Workers in Popayan, Colombia, sweeping debris at the Roman Catholic cathedral after an earthquake killed many worshippers. Hundreds were reported dead and thousands hurt throughout the country. Page 2.

## Citing Lebanon, Reagan Refuses F-16s to Israel

By Bernard Gwertzman  
New York Times Service  
WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan has stated that until Israel withdraws its forces from Lebanon he will not permit the transfer of about 75 F-16 fighters that have been held since last summer.

"We are forbidden by law to release those planes," Mr. Reagan said Thursday. He implied, but did not state explicitly, that Israel had violated the terms of an arms supply agreement with the United States stating that American military equipment can be used only for defensive purposes. Under the Arms Export Act, the president has discretionary authority to cut off military sales to any nation found in substantial violation of such an agreement.

Israel expressed sharp displeasure Friday, United Press International reported from Tel Aviv. A senior Israeli official described Mr. Reagan's reasons for refusing the planes as "annoying" and "surprising." He said that Israel's campaign in Lebanon was a war of "self-defense par excellence and had nothing to do with conquest."

Another official called the statement very serious in light of the increase in Soviet involvement in Syria. A source quoted by Israel Radio Friday said there now would be little purpose in a meeting between Mr. Reagan and Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Sources quoted by the radio Thursday said only a Reagan-Begin meeting could break the impasse on removing troops from Lebanon.

The president's remarks were in response to questions after a televised speech in Los Angeles that was devoted to arms control. In the speech he offered his most extensive critique to date of the proposal in Congress for a nuclear freeze resolution.

Mr. Reagan appealed to supporters of the measure to put aside "partisan politics" and unite behind his administration's arms control proposals to the Soviet Union.

The president's comments on Israel caught the State Department by surprise, since for eight months the administration has refrained from saying Israel had violated the agreement by its invasion of Lebanon. In addition, officials have declined to give a reason for delaying the release of the F-16s to Israel.

Some concern was expressed that Israel might react strongly to Mr. Reagan's comments and prove more recalcitrant in the negotiations now going on over its withdrawal from Lebanon.

He said the effort to bring about the withdrawal of Israeli, Syrian and Palestinian Liberation Organization forces from Lebanon had been "a frustrating experience." Until this is achieved, he said, it is impossible to proceed "with the general subject of overall peace."

Philip C. Habib, Mr. Reagan's special envoy to the Middle East, was on his way back to the United States Thursday after another round of inconclusive talks. And Yasser Arafat, the head of the PLO, arrived in Amman for talks with King Hussein of Jordan that are supposed to be crucial to whether the king goes along with Mr. Reagan's call for expanding the Middle East peace negotiations. Some officials have said that King Hussein will not agree to enter the talks until Israel agrees to terms for pulling out of Lebanon.

After Israel bombed an Iraqi nuclear reactor in the summer of

### Progress Is Seen on Withdrawal

By David K. Shipley  
JERUSALEM — Israel and Lebanon were reported Friday to have narrowed their differences over how much Israeli military involvement is to be permitted in southern Lebanon after a troop withdrawal.

Officials close to the negotiations said that Lebanese representatives, during a session Thursday in the Israeli town of Kiryat Shmona, had agreed on the principle of establishing joint supervision teams under an Israeli-Lebanese military committee.

Israel radio interpreted this to mean Lebanese acquiescence to an Israeli demand for joint patrols in the area, but one official called that (Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)



Antinuclear protesters, some wearing costumes, used leaders to scale the fence of Greenham Common air base, England, on Friday. Police detained about 200 people.

## 200 Held In a Protest At U.K. Base

United Press International  
LONDON — Tens of thousands of antinuclear campaigners pressed ahead Friday with an Easter peace offensive in Britain. West Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland including marches, vigils, blockades and a 14-mile (23-kilometer) human chain. A total of 500,000 people were expected to take part in the weekend protests.

By Friday evening, about 200 arrests and two injuries were reported in England, although the demonstrations were largely peaceful.

The arrests were made at Greenham Common, 60 miles (100 kilometers) west of London, where the Women's Movement for Peace and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament protested the basing of cruise and Trident missiles in Britain.

Many of those arrested scaled the fence of the U.S. air base where the first of 96 cruise missiles are to be placed in December. Most of the protesters were later released without charges, the police said.

Pending official figures, organizers said that 70,000 to 100,000 people, linked hands along a 14-mile route taking in Greenham Common, the Aldermaston nuclear weapons research establishment, which develops Trident warheads, and the Burghfield Royal Ordnance factory, which assembles nuclear weapons.

Britain has an arsenal of about 900 nuclear bombs and approximately 64 submarine-launched Polaris missiles.

The protest ended with a mass rally at Aldermaston. A mass "die-in" was scheduled Saturday in Glasgow.

In West Germany, where the main protests are still to come, 15,000 demonstrators turned out Friday. Organizers predicted that the overall "moment" at about 90 events "would exceed last year's 500,000. As many as 100,000 people protested Friday in Britain.

At Neu Ulm in southern Germany, the police used tear gas to disperse about 250 demonstrators blocking the entrance to the U.S. Wiley base, pinpointed by the peace movement as a proposed site for Pershing-2 missiles.

The police said two persons were arrested and a peace movement spokesman said two demonstrators were injured.

Protests included a blockade of a U.S. ammunition depot at Peacht near Nuremberg and of a West German base that houses some American troops in Kellinghusen and two marches — 50 miles from Marburg to Frankfurt and 46 miles from Bamberg to Nuremberg.

In Switzerland, 1,000 to 3,000 people demonstrated outside a nuclear power station near Basel.

The Dutch were staging dozens of mostly symbolic demonstrations against nuclear weapons, but the high point — a torchlight parade scheduled Saturday — was being staged as a protest against nuclear power generating.

Government officials in Britain and Germany said the demonstrators were playing into the hands of the Soviet Union but support was offered by some left-oriented parties and organizations.

Defense Minister Michael Heseltine of Britain called the protesters a "naïve" minority group but said they were free to express their opinions.

"That freedom is your right and I am charged with its defense," he said. "But I don't believe for one moment that we will risk that freedom by following you along a naive and reckless road."

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said the protesters would have been better advised to "link hands around the Berlin Wall."

Karl-Dieter Spranger, parliamentary secretary of state at the Interior Ministry in Bonn, said the demonstrators "supported the threatening policies of the Soviets toward our freedom and security."

## Pentagon Aims to Overtake Japan In Race to Build 'Supercomputers'

By Michael Schrage  
Washington Post Service  
WASHINGTON — The Defense Department is planning a major research project to create a new generation of "supercomputers," hoping to overtake Japan in a race to establish supremacy in computer technology in the 1990s.

Department officials said Thursday that the project, called "Strategic Computing and Survivability," but nicknamed the "Supercomputer," is designed to compete with Japanese government and industry efforts to create a "fifth generation" computer. Other officials said the underlying purpose is to assure U.S. dominance over the Soviet Union in military technology.

The new supercomputers would process information at rates thousands of times faster than existing machines and would be imbued with "artificial intelligence" software that would give them problem-solving capabilities far beyond today's computer systems.

"This is in response to the Japanese," said a high-ranking official of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, or DARPA, which will administer the project. DARPA is tentatively seeking \$50 million for fiscal 1984 and congressional hearings on the proposal are scheduled for later this month.

"The Defense Department should press this technology because no one else is pursuing it," said Richard D. DeLauer, the undersecretary of defense for research and engineering. "The Japanese have strong programs in both artificial intelligence and fifth generation computers."

"I don't think \$50 million is enough," said Anthony Battista, a senior staff member on the House Armed Services Committee. Mr. Battista contended that the question of superiority in computer technology is "a problem that goes far beyond the Defense Department. It trends directly into our whole economic base."

The program was "just started up this year," said a DARPA official. While several top computer experts are being consulted, the agency has yet to determine whether it will emphasize hardware or software development. "We are trying to resolve those issues right now," said another DARPA staffer.

It is expected that the Defense Department's supercomputer efforts would focus on new kinds of computer designs using very complex, multilayered computer chips as well as "expert systems" programming that allow computers to analyze problems in much the same way that human experts do. One effort is expected to focus on using computer programs to design future computer chips.

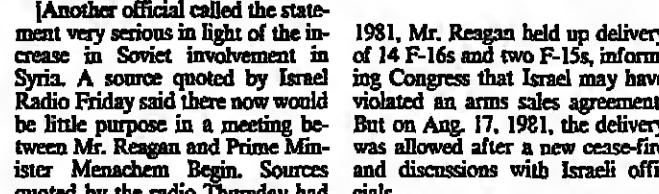
All of these new technologies — and the way they can be integrated into total computer systems — have direct military applications.

"This is an enabling technology that would make advanced antiballistic missile systems possible," said Robert Cooper, DARPA's director and assistant secretary of defense for science and technology. He was referring to President Ronald Reagan's recent proposal to develop missile defenses.

Japan's project is sponsored by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry which is investing \$450 million over the next 10 years. Japan expects to replace the United States as the world's leader in computers, said Edward Feigenbaum, chairman of Stanford's computer science department. "Even partially realized concepts that are superlative in design can have great economic value, pre-empt the marketplace and give the Japanese the dominant position they seek," he maintained.

There are, however, industry observers who do not believe that the Japanese can wrest dominance away from the United States with a project that has yet to produce any tangible results.

However, Bobby Inman, president of Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corp., said, "The real problem is that we'll ultimately be competing for the same talent."



## U.S. Arms Plan Seeks Bilateral Reductions

By Joseph Fitchett  
International Herald Tribune  
PARIS — U.S. proposals for cutting the superpower strategic nuclear arsenals require both nations, not just the Soviet Union, to make significant reductions and adjustments in their arsenals, Reagan administration officials said Friday.

In rare disclosures of detailed U.S. thinking on the seldom discussed strategic arms limitation talks in Geneva, U.S. officials said the Reagan administration's blueprint for a lower, more stable nuclear balance required the Soviet Union to scrap about two-thirds of its ballistic missiles to reach a ceiling of 850 while the United States would have to destroy at least 60 percent of its own intercontinental rockets.

Although strategic arms limitation talks have been overshadowed by the U.S.-Soviet negotiations on Europe-based nuclear missiles, also in Geneva, U.S. officials appear anxious to dispel suggestions that the Reagan administration and its chief negotiator at the strategic arms talks, Edward L. Rowny, are setting "unrealistic" or one-sided goals in the talks about the superpower balance.

"According to the sources, the U.S. proposal now includes provisions for constraining cruise missiles being deployed on U.S. ships and aircraft independently of NATO plans to place such weapons in Western Europe."

"It is a satisfactory formula, we think," one source said, but he refused to disclose details of the U.S. suggestion or any Soviet reaction. The U.S. and Soviet delegations have agreed to respect confidentiality about the talks.

The final details of the initial U.S. and Soviet positions were laid out Thursday at the end of the third two-month bargaining session in the talks, which began last October.

"The U.S. position is complete, like a treaty except for the absence of legalistic language and except for some blanks to be filled in," an official said.

Apparently frustrated by the lack of Soviet responsiveness to U.S. suggestions and annoyed by Soviet commentators' complaints about the thrust of the U.S. proposals, U.S. officials said the Reagan administration approach offered both sides more stable defenses at lower levels of armaments.

## Pravda Critical Of Reagan's Plan On Missile Parity

MOSCOW — President Ronald Reagan's new arms control initiative was condemned Friday by the Soviet daily Pravda, indicating that the Kremlin will reject it as a basis for an East-West missile agreement.

A commentary in the Communist Party newspaper dismissed Mr. Reagan's offer for a parity agreement on medium-range missiles as propaganda and said it offered no substantial change from his zero official plan, already rejected by the Soviet Union.

The paper said Moscow could not accept the deployment of any new U.S. missiles in Europe, which the Reagan plan would involve, because that would tip the strategic balance in favor of the United States.

Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko is expected to deliver the Kremlin's official verdict on the plan at a rare press conference Saturday. The commentary indicates that he is likely to reject it as a basis for a missile accord.

Mr. Reagan's proposals, made public Wednesday, called for the Soviet Union and Washington to agree to parity in the number of U.S. and Soviet medium-range missile warheads. The plan would mean the Soviet Union would have to cut a large number of its SS-4, SS-5, and SS-20 missile forces, while the United States would be able to deploy some cruise and Pershing-2 rockets in Western Europe.

## Nigeria Paper, Officials Clash on Secrets Law

Rare Dispute in Black Africa Could Define Limits of Press Freedom  
By Leon Dash  
Washington Post Service  
LAGOS — Nigeria's press, which enjoys a freedom that is rare in black Africa, has recently come under strong government attack in the aftermath of unauthorized publication, by one relatively independent newspaper, of sensitive government reports.

The same newspaper has also published embarrassing official correspondence and been willing to confront the police with sharp, biting criticism.

That there is even a public dispute in Nigeria is noteworthy. In virtually all of black Africa, the issue of what the media can publish or broadcast outside government controls does not arise because such freedom does not exist.

The upcoming court battles here will be watched closely because they could end up defining the limits of press freedom in Nigeria, a freedom enshrined in the country's 1979 constitution.

In the current controversy, two editors argue that they are being harassed by the police to turn them away from the constitutional provision stating that the duty of the press is "to uphold the accountability of government."

Nigerian police officials say the issue is not that lofty and that, at least in the major part of the conflict, the issue involves simple obedience to the law as laid out in the 1962 Official Secrets Act.

Under the act, Dele Giwa, editor of the Sunday Concord, was arrested and jailed for 14 days. The charges against him were dropped and then reinstated; he has been rearrested four times.

Mr. Giwa, 35, a New York Times news assistant for four and a half years before returning to Nigeria in 1978, incurred official wrath by publishing a government report on the arson of a public building to hide embezzlement. Mr. Giwa published the findings before the report was officially released and followed it up with revealing correspondence between government officials.

Such journalism is unsettling and new to Nigerian officialdom.

Ray Ekpu, 35, also works at the Concord and was recently charged with murder, arson and conspiracy because of a satirical column he wrote. The column suggested that some government officials under investigation for embezzlement were stupid for not following the Nigerian practice of burning down their headquarters to destroy all of the accounting records.

The next day, two persons died in a fire in the building Mr. Ekpu mentioned, the 37-story office of Nigerian external telecommunications.

He was arrested a week later. A judge dismissed the case, but not before Mr. Ekpu spent 16 days in jail.

"The government believes we're dangerous," said Mr. Giwa, "and, therefore, subterfuges are used to hold us in the hope that we will be cowed into silence."

Mr. Giwa said that although the arson report "was not damning to the government, it was the first time someone published a report" without official approval "and the government wants to intimidate the press from continuing such action; they're afraid of investigative journalism."

Most of Nigeria's approximately 25 newspapers, which generally back one of the country's six political parties or are controlled by the government, were silent on the arrests of Mr. Giwa and Mr. Ekpu, but a second independent paper, The Guardian, said in an editorial Feb. 27:

"When the police arrest a journalist, bring him to court on wild charges, and the charges are thrown out and they proceed to rearrest him on other equally wild charges, which are again thrown out of court, that is police harassment."

But Nigeria's federal police chief, Inspector General Sunday Adewusi, denied the assertion.

"It is a firm belief of the silent majority that the land shall be built on law and not lawlessness laid to waste," Mr. Adewusi said in response to a question on how Mr. Giwa had broken the secrets act. "Is stealing government documents investigative journalism? Publication of such documents is not in the interest of the security of the country."

The first letters Mr. Giwa printed involved an angry exchange between Mr. Adewusi and Attorney General Richard Akinjide over Mr. Akinjide's dropping of the charge against Mr. Giwa — later reinstated — as unwelcome in court.

The second set of letters involved a complaint by the federal budget director to the head of the cabinet office that he was approving too many expensive overseas trips by federal officials. Mr. Giwa faces charges of two further secrets act violations on the stories.

Mr. Giwa, who is free on bail, has filed an \$800,000 lawsuit against Mr. Adewusi for unlawful detention.

### INSIDE

■ The Sandinista government has charged that U.S.-backed forces have made a new thrust across the Honduras border and warned that "a broader conflict" with Honduras could result. Page 3.

■ Kenneth Kamuda, the president of Zambia, said that the West must press for changes in South Africa's apartheid policy or risk a bloody explosion in the area. Page 3.

■ President Reagan met with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin in the Oval Office last month in an effort to reassure him about American sincerity toward negotiations with Moscow. Page 3.

ARTS/LEISURE  
■ Ben Vauthier, the French artist whose work is a mixture of Dada and vaudeville, shows in Paris. Page 7.

BUSINESS/FINANCE  
■ Car de France says it would attempt to renegotiate its gas contract with the Soviet Union should the comparable price of oil fall further in the coming year. Page 5.



# On Falklands Anniversary, the Blame Is Still Undecided Carrington Viewed As Loss to Politics

By Peter Osnos  
Washington Post Service  
LONDON — "What happened in the Falklands has been a great national humiliation," Lord Carrington observed grimly last April 2 on the evening he resigned as Britain's foreign secretary.

He had to go, he said months later, to stem the British public's fury in those early April days over Argentina's invasion of the distant colony.

"The governor of a British territory had been forcibly removed, an alien flag had been raised over an occupied population," Lord Carrington told an attentive House of Lords. "The wide sense of outrage and impotence was understandable and I was at the head of the Foreign Office. It did not seem to me a time for self-justification and certainly not to cling to office."

"I think that the country is more important than itself." Events in the invasion aftermath have enabled the sixth Baron Carrington to voice such magnanimous sentiments. Britain regained the Falklands in June. In January an official inquiry concluded that Lord Carrington could not reasonably be blamed for the Argentine action. Victory and vindication combined to permit restoration of Lord Carrington's reputation as one of Britain's best foreign secretaries in this century.

Now, as the country marks the anniversary of the crisis, it is generally acknowledged that any minutes for Britain in the Falklands affair — the loss of lives, the high cost of maintaining a substantial garrison, the strain on relations with Latin America — must also include the departure of Lord Carrington from Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government.

A senior Western diplomat said: "What vanished from the cabinet was an outward-looking mind that had a sense of Britain's destiny in the 1980s. The approach in foreign policy has become more 'little England,' more chauvinistic, less imaginative. Lord Carrington had the gift of wit, elegance and style, combined with intuitive intellectual strength."

Simon Jenkins, political editor of *The Economist*, wrote: "An urbane, decisive man, Lord Carrington proved adept as departmental head and as tutor to the prime minister. By early 1982 he had bludgeoned her into recognizing that the Foreign Office was

at least a necessary evil of British government. He had come, as a reluctant admirer, to the same view about her."

Lord Carrington achieved a solid record of accomplishments in his three years in office. He presided over the conference that led to the transformation of Rhodesia to Zimbabwe, a goal that had eluded Britain for more than a decade. He was instrumental in shaping the European Community's innovative position in favor of Palestinian self-determination and made a determined effort to wheedle the Russians out of Afghanistan.

Yet Lord Carrington acknowledges that in significant respects he was an anachronism, which probably contributed to his downfall. As a hereditary peer, an aristocrat, he was outside the relative rough-and-tumble of British electoral politics. Not being a real threat to Mrs. Thatcher for the party leadership, he had the greater leeway for working with her that was instrumental to his success.

But without a voice of his own in the House of Commons, he could play no role in defining the government once the invasion took place. Lord Carrington now tells visitors that he was almost certainly the last member of the Lords to serve in so sensitive a post as foreign minister.

Lord Carrington is said to have been profoundly shaken by the savagery of attacks on him in the heated weekend that followed Argentina's invasion April 2. In an otherwise restrained House of Lords speech earlier this year, he said that "the press was baying for blood."

Politicians, even in his own party, pounced on him in their indignation. During 30 years of public service, Lord Carrington had not been subjected to that sort of abuse.

He was deeply downcast in the weeks that followed his resignation. Friends recall, spending most of his time at the family's 300-year-old manor house in Buckleighamshire. He refused to discuss the Falklands in public and resigned from the Carlton Club, one of the venerable meeting grounds for the Conservative establishment.



British forces raised the Union Jack and the navy's White Ensign after they recaptured South Georgia, a Falklands dependency, after a battle in April 1982.

Gradually his spirits improved and he accepted the position of chairman of the General Electric Company, one of Britain's largest businesses. He also joined Kissinger Associates, the consultancy organized by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. At 63, he seems to have plunged headlong into another blue-chip career. While there is apparently no question of his returning to the government, Mrs. Thatcher is known to call upon him for advice.

Lord Carrington's cachet has not been transferable to his successor as foreign secretary, Francis Pym. Mr. Pym is widely regarded as a serious-minded and capable administrator, but his relations with Mrs. Thatcher have been uneasy. He is identified with a more moderate wing of the party on domestic economic and social policy and considered a possible prime minister, should Mrs. Thatcher fall. Moreover, her instinctive suspicion that the Foreign Office is not inclined to be tough enough in representing British interests is said to have resurfaced.

Mrs. Thatcher is unyielding in her resolve that no negotia-

tions with Argentina about the Falklands are possible. Lord Carrington does not speak openly about his own views, but while endorsing Mrs. Thatcher's position in his Lords speech he managed also to lament its necessity and seemed to be warning against the dangers of excessive nationalism.

The Falklands was bad, he said, "because we have got ourselves, through no fault of our own, into the position which successive governments have sought to avoid. We are committed... to spending large sums of money and to accepting a distortion of our defense policy."

This commitment, he went on, should not lead Britain to "retreat into our island home, believing that we can, as a result of the Falklands, ignore the rest of the world. We should not be tempted into believing that we in this country are not part of Europe and the Western world with an obligation and a duty in settling the many problems on the international scene."

"There is much to do and our aim should be to continue to resolve differences by genuine negotiation," he added.

## Buenos Aires Awaits Commission's Report

By Douglas Grant Mince  
The Associated Press  
BUENOS AIRES — Leopoldo Galtieri, the former Argentine president and army commander who launched the ill-fated invasion of the British-administered Falkland Islands last April 2, is now in civilian clothes, in retirement and in disgrace.

Since being dismissed from both the presidency and the army command following Britain's military victory over Argentina last June, Mr. Galtieri, a retired general, has been a virtual recluse in his 19th-floor suburban apartment.

And the country's 28 million inhabitants are still waiting for a report from an armed forces commission investigating "political and strategic responsibility" for the conflict that cost 1,000 lives and billions of dollars.

Some are awaiting the report more anxiously than others. The young former conscripts at the Malvinas Veterans' Center are impatient and skeptical. Las Malvinas is the Argentine name for the Falklands.

"We're waiting for the report, because when it comes out we're going to study it point by point and say 'This is what's true and this is a lie,'" said Miguel Angel Trinidad, 20, the group's secretary, who spent 10 weeks in the trenches.

"The report is going to come out all twisted. How can you expect them, the same ones who managed the war so poorly, to give a truthful report?" he said during an interview in the center's headquarters.

The military bureaucracy has not completely prevented the Falklands war story from being told. The prisoners of war returned by Britain in the weeks after the fighting described cowardice, corruption and logistical incompetence among much of the Argentine officer corps.

Jorge Luis Borges, 83, the venerable Argentine author, put it this way: "The Malvinas war demonstrated that Argentine military men are much more dangerous to their compatriots than they are to an enemy in the field."

He alluded to the regime's mid-1970s campaign against leftist guerrillas that resulted in the "disappearances" of 6,000 to 10,000 people. Local and international human rights organizations claim many of the missing had nothing to do with the revolutionaries but were summarily executed on suspicion of subversion.

The administration that succeeded General Galtieri has refused to formally declare a cessation of hostilities in the South Atlantic and misses no opportunity to declare the "recovery" of the islands one of the country's highest priorities.

But the nationalistic fervor that swept hundreds of thousands of people to the central Plaza de Mayo a year ago to chant General Galtieri's name and celebrate the seizing of the islands is absent.

Argentina claims Britain stole the islands 250 miles (400 kilometers) off the southern Argentine coast in 1833, when Royal Navy forces ousted Argentine authorities.

The Falklands debate left the seven-year-old government in such disrepute that the general, who before the war had indicated that they planned to hold power until at least the end of the decade, were forced to begin a transition to civilian rule.

President Reynaldo Bignone has promised elections, the first in 10 years, for Oct. 30. The transfer of power to elected authorities is set for Jan. 30, next year.

Unemployment is at a 10-year high of 12 percent and inflation at 300 percent a year. Political campaigning and the recession command much more space in the newspapers than the war and its consequences.

Nicanor Costa Mendez, the foreign minister during the war, who presented the Argentine case in world forums, is campaigning for a conservative federalist party and is mentioned as a possible presidential candidate.

He, General Galtieri and the former military governor of the islands, General Mario Benjamin Menéndez, have appeared in recent days before the investigative commission. Others who played a major role in the war are to testify in coming weeks.

The war drastically altered Argentine foreign policy. Before the conflict, the staunchly anti-communist regime was strengthening ties with the United States and emphasizing the country's "Western and Christian" identity.

When Washington and Western Europe sided with Britain in the conflict, Argentina found moral and diplomatic support from Third World and Soviet-bloc countries. The government is now firmly entrenched in the same nonaligned movement it was considering abandoning in the months before the war.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Thais Say Vietnamese Repelled

BANGKOK (AP) — The Foreign Ministry said about 500 Vietnamese troops drove about a mile into Thailand twice Friday but were driven back across the border into Cambodia both times.

No independent confirmation was available. Reporters are barred from the battle area and the announcement was greeted with some skepticism by observers. The ministry said the first invasion occurred near the refugee camp of Nong Samet and the second one near Phnom Chai, where Vietnamese forces overran a Khmer Rouge base Thursday. It said 200 Cambodian refugees were killed by the Vietnamese, but there was no confirmation of the figure.

Thai officers in the area said Thai gunners traded artillery fire with Vietnamese forces across the border in Cambodia Friday, and that Khmer Rouge guerrillas regrouped and launched harassment raids against the Vietnamese. The Thais also helped move about 15,000 Cambodian civilians from the region to a UN refugee camp near Thab Siam, three miles (4.8 kilometers) southeast of Phnom Chai, a Khmer Rouge stronghold overrun by the Vietnamese Thursday in heavy fighting that officials said left at least 32 Cambodians dead and 150 wounded.

### France Can't Locate Dioxin Waste

PARIS (AP) — The 41 drums of dioxin that French officials have been trying to locate for months "could be in France or in any other country," Hugues Bonchard, the French environment minister said Friday.

"We don't know where they are," she concluded in an interview with Radio Monte-Carlo, explaining that a document that she had earlier described as indicating the location of the drums was not conclusive.

The 41 drums containing 2.2 tons of dioxin-bearing debris from the dioxin-contaminated town of Seveso, Italy, entered France in September 1982 and initially were taken to a depot in the northern French city of Saint-Quentin. But French environmental officials have not yet been able to learn when the drums left Saint-Quentin or where they went, although some evidence suggests they were taken to West Germany.

### Italian Left Acts to Improve Ties

ROME (Reuters) — Clear signs emerged Friday of an improvement in the tense relations between Italy's Communist and Socialist parties.

The parties, in a joint statement to rebuff charges of corruption in leftist city administrations, spoke of "a tendency toward improvement in our parties' ties." It was made public following a meeting Thursday between leaders of the parties and suggested a degree of understanding not apparent for several years.

The statement said recent judicial actions could not fail to provoke "strong doubts about political manipulation" — an apparent allusion to suspected attempts by Christian Democrats to discredit leftist city councils before local elections. Both leftist parties said they intended to extend their cooperation in local government, where the left runs several major cities in sometimes uneasy alliance. The development appeared certain to irritate the dominant Christian Democrats, with whom the Socialists are partners in a four-party national coalition.

### Soviet Aide Asked to Leave Spain

MADRID (Reuters) — A Soviet diplomat has been asked to leave Madrid after Spanish authorities discovered that he was engaged in activities they described as incompatible with his status. Foreign Ministry sources said Friday.

No official comment was available on press reports that the Spanish and Soviet authorities had arranged the departure to avoid reciprocal action by the Kremlin and that three more diplomats were involved.

Since 1977, 11 Russians have left the country after being accused of espionage.

### For the Record

WASHINGTON (UPI) — President Ronald Reagan has nominated Admiral William M. Small as commander in chief of U.S. naval forces in Europe and commander in chief of allied forces in Southern Europe, the Pentagon announced Friday.

BEIJING (UPI) — Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger paid a surprise visit Friday to Beijing to meet with Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian and other officials, the official Xinhua press agency announced.

## U.S. Arms Plan Seeks Bilateral Reductions

(Continued from Page 1)

Pravda report. Conversely, the United States, which relies on nuclear submarines, including the Trident under construction, would gain under the main clause requiring that each side keep half its strategic warheads on submarines.

Expanding on the original U.S. position that only land-based missiles have the power to mount a disabling first strike on an enemy's missile force, U.S. officials added Friday that the emphasis on submarines could easily be accommodated by the Soviet Union's submarine-building program, which is already producing the giant Typhoon-class nuclear submarines.

The U.S. proposal does not require the Soviet Union to develop or deploy new types of weapons systems that it does not want, but merely accommodates current programs upon which the U.S.S.R. embarked before the United States had ever presented its program, an official said.

Under the U.S. proposal for a ceiling of 5,000 warheads (half at sea) and 850 ballistic missiles, the Soviet Union could have, for example, 200 multistaged ICBMs, 300 single-warhead ICBMs, 14 Delta-class submarines and six Typhoon-class submarines, all with hundreds of warheads, the U.S. official said.

This force, like its U.S. counterpart, would have the retaliatory capacity to absorb a first strike and annihilate the other superpower's population centers. But it would lack the capability, which the Soviet Union approaches today, of launching two heavy land-launched warheads for each of the roughly 2,000 targets comprising the U.S. missile silos and command posts.

In contrast to the U.S. proposal, the Soviet Union has called for an across-the-board cutback by 25 percent in the number of launching silos and a freeze on new nuclear systems.

"It has a good propaganda ring," a U.S. official said.

While acknowledging the appeal of the word "freeze" in the United States and Western Europe, U.S. officials maintain that it would lock the United States into an inferior, exposed position. "The United States is deploying air-launched cruise missiles, which would be banned in a freeze, to penetrate the improving Soviet air defenses," a U.S. official said.

While U.S. officials contend their proposals seek to move the existing arms race toward stability and then reduce numbers, they accuse Soviet strategists of clinging to the SALT-2 formula of counting "launchers" — that is, missile silos and powers of warheads.

The issue caused Mr. Rowny, who helped negotiate SALT-2, to resign from those talks when he suspected Soviet planners would circumvent the limits on launchers by simply putting new rockets with more warheads into the silos allowed under SALT-2.

By all accounts, Mr. Rowny, who appears solidly in position as chief negotiator despite a recent flap over his skepticism about Soviet willingness to compromise, believes the Soviet Union is playing for time.

There are no signs of imminent Soviet interest in an agreement except for some throwaway lines, for example about more Soviet flexibility on verification, a U.S. source said.

Mr. Rowny apparently believes that Soviet negotiators are hoping that Western disarmament movements and congressional budget cuts can blunt the Reagan administration's arms plans, thus reducing the Soviet incentive to negotiate.

The main Soviet concern, however, seems to be the parallel talks on intermediate-range missiles, in which U.S. officials say the Soviet Union is hoping for a split between the United States and its European allies.

On strategic arms, European governments are generally supportive of the U.S. approach, a U.S. official said. This is partly because, he added, that could rapidly change if an interim agreement emerged in the Euro-missile talks and the two sets of negotiations were then merged.

Meanwhile, both he and other U.S. officials dismissed a suggestion that Mr. Reagan's recent talk of U.S. anti-missile defenses had compromised the outlook for the strategic arms limitations talks.

"The president is talking about the distant future," a U.S. official said. He added that Mr. Rowny last October led a U.S. review of the existing Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which bars deployment of such defensive systems, and found it compatible with U.S. arms-control intentions.

"But of course, curbing defensive systems implies curbing offensive systems, too," the official said, and an apparent hint that the United States will not negotiate fruitlessly on strategic arms indefinitely.

### Video Game Arcades Are Banned by Taipei

TAIPEI — The government issued a national ban Friday on video game arcades, saying the games had promoted juvenile delinquency.

"Some schoolchildren had become juvenile delinquents, stealing, robbing and fighting after they got hooked on video games," a police spokesman said. The Philippines and Indonesia have banned video games, and in Singapore advertisements for them have been banned.

## Israel-Lebanon Talks Are Said to Progress

(Continued from Page 1)

"over-optimistic" and cautioned that obstacles remained to a complete agreement.

President Ronald Reagan announced Thursday that Israel's request to purchase F-16 warplanes would not be granted until Israeli troops were out of Lebanon. Administration officials have expressed annoyance in recent weeks over Israel's rejection of a U.S. package of security proposals for southern Lebanon. These are said to fall short of Israeli demands for a residual military presence on Lebanese soil.

In Beirut, the Lebanese state radio said that Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan and Foreign Minister Elias Suleman, after meeting Friday with Lebanon's negotiators, "found that the tripartite negotiations have returned to their objective course." The Associated Press reported.

"If we look at the draft agreement that has been negotiated from a general standpoint, we find that most of the issues have been resolved and that the remaining points of contention became fewer," the radio said. The negotiating teams of the United States, Israel and Lebanon will meet four times a week starting next Tuesday instead of twice a week, in an effort to speed up the talks, the radio added.

Israel, convinced that the Palestine Liberation Organization will try to reestablish military positions in southern Lebanon, originally asked for five outposts on Lebanese territory, staffed by a total of about 750 Israeli soldiers and intelligence agents, coordinating with local Lebanese militias in maintaining security.

Neither Lebanon nor the United States accepted this, arguing that it would give Syria a pretext for leaving its forces in northern Lebanon and the Bekaa Valley.

Israel is currently reported to have stopped insisting on the outposts, without formally withdrawing the demand. Instead, the Israeli negotiators are said to be concentrating on daily patrols with Lebanese troops, close communications and intelligence links with a southern brigade of the Lebanese Army and the stationing of Israeli Army advisers with Lebanese troops.

In addition, Israel wants Major Saad Haddad, a former Lebanese Army officer, named as the commander of the southern Lebanese brigade. Since the mid-1970s, when he left the army, Major Haddad has run an Israeli-trained and supplied militia in a narrow buffer strip on the Lebanese side of the Israeli border, giving Israeli troops free access to the territory for artillery positions and as a launching pad for strikes against PLO emplacements.

The Lebanese government has reportedly agreed to integrate Major Haddad's militia into the army, but has objected strenuously to Major Haddad's becoming its commander, given that he is technically a deserter.

**Palestinian Peace Plan**  
Palestinian officials are working on the framework of a compromise peace formula to be ratified by other Arab states as a new basis for talks with Israel, an informed source said Friday, according to an Associated Press report.

The source, who asked not to be identified, said the compromise plan would include elements of an initiative by Mr. Reagan and one put forward by Arab states in Fez, Morocco, last September. He said the plan might go so far as to recognize Israel's right to exist in hopes of winning U.S. support for the formula.



PATH OF DESTRUCTION — Lava pouring from Sicily's Mount Etna begins to flow into a restaurant on the volcano's slopes. The volcano, the most active in Europe, has been spewing lava since Monday. Major structures on the mountain have been destroyed.

## Reagan Takes the Offensive on Arms

(Continued from Page 1)

tence on a rollback of Soviet missile forces as the price of any arms agreement are becoming hallmarks of his presidency as much as the 1981 tax and budget cuts.

The latest public relations offensive reflects the rhythm of the presidency: a low public profile in the long period of budget formulation.

### A Soviet Prosecutor Is Sentenced to Death

MOSCOW — A prosecutor in Soviet Kirghizia has been sentenced to death for taking bribes from criminals, the weekly newspaper Nedelya reported Friday from the Siberian region's capital of Frunze.

The report said that the prosecutor, Urushbek Koichumanov, sought and received bribes from three high-ranking officials at a meat factory who were "plundering" the state-owned enterprise. No date was given for the trial, but press accounts of death sentences are usually published after the execution.

In December and January, followed by high visibility in the spring political battling, Mr. Reagan's timing also anticipates major battles in Congress over the military budget, the nuclear freeze, the MX missile and his nomination of Kenneth L. Adelman to head the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

"He's deliberately on the offensive now because he wants to lay the groundwork for those major debates," said David R. Gergen, the White House communications director. "Look what's coming up after the recess: MX, Adelman, El Salvador, military spending and the nuclear freeze."

Some past White House staffs have worried about overexposing their president. But Mr. Reagan's advisers encouraged him to speak out, especially after Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger ran into strong congressional resistance to a 10-percent increase in military spending in fiscal 1984.

"There were alarm bells going off all over the place," a White House official said. "There was a feeling that the president had to get out front and that Cap had given his all and it was not making enough difference. The truth is, Cap was an enigma volume."

The president's recent appearances have not been without inconsistencies. Mr. Reagan is known among his staff and other politicians for pitching his message to his live audience, almost as if he were unmindful of possible repercussions elsewhere.

His speech to evangelical Christians in Orlando, in which he denounced the nuclear freeze as "a dangerous fraud" and the Soviet Union as "the focus of evil in the modern world," caused a backlash but was defended by some as a boost to conservatives or as an appropriate stirring of moral fervor against the Soviet Union. But privately other high officials winced and said the speech should have been more heavily edited.

**Flogging in Mozambique**  
MAPUTO, Mozambique — Convicts for armed robbery, child rape and black marketeering in Mozambique will carry a mandatory flogging under a law published Friday.

## Quake Kills Up to 500 In Colombia

BOGOTA — Five hundred people may have been killed and as many as 2,000 injured Thursday in an earthquake that devastated the city of Popayan, the president of Colombia's Civil Defense said.

The official, Carlos Martinez Saez, provided the estimates after visiting the ruins of the city of 138,000 people, 230 miles (370 kilometers) southwest of Bogota.

Many people attending Mass in the local Roman Catholic cathedral were killed when the quake struck and masonry fell.

Other churches in Popayan, which is renowned for its colonial-style architecture, were also crowded with worshippers.

A Red Cross spokesman gave a lower casualty estimate than the Civil Defense chief, saying there could be more than 400 dead and 1,200 injured.

Families wandered through the shattered streets as the authorities struggled to provide shelter for the estimated 15,000 people left homeless. Officials began restoring water and electricity supplies Friday.

The services had been totally disrupted by the quake, which registered an intensity of 7 on the 12-degree Mercalli scale used to measure the intensity of an earthquake as felt in a specific location.

Reports from the region said 90 percent of Capibio, a nearby town of 15,000 people, had been flattened by the tremor. Officials said no casualty figures were yet available for neighboring areas.

Health Minister Jorge Garcia Gomez ordered a vaccination campaign to prevent epidemics as rescuers began digging mass graves to bury the dead.

President Betancur Betancur placed Popayan under military control Thursday to prevent looting, and supermarkets and drug stores were kept open around the clock.

Medicine, food and first-aid equipment were being flown in from Bogota and Cali.

### Mubarak Visits China

BEIJING — President Hosni Mubarak, the first Egyptian head of state to visit China, arrived here Friday. Mr. Mubarak was met by a delegation headed by Public Health Minister Cui Yueli.



## Congress May Tighten Curbs On CIA's Latin Operations

By Philip Taubman

WASHINGTON — Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, the vice chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, says that Congress may have to tighten restrictions on U.S. intelligence activities in Central America to prevent involvement in efforts to overthrow the government of Nicaragua.

"A growing number of my colleagues question whether the CIA is complying with the law," the New York Democrat said in an interview. Last December, Congress approved an amendment to an omnibus appropriations bill for the fiscal year 1983 that prohibits U.S. support for "any military effort to topple the Nicaraguan government."

"There is a crisis of confidence building between the committee and the intelligence community over this issue," Mr. Moynihan said.

The Central Intelligence Agency, which is responsible for the covert operations, has maintained to Congress that its support for paramilitary groups in Central America is for limited purposes, including the interdiction of arms to guerrillas in El Salvador, and does not involve an effort to overthrow the Nicaraguan government.

"They say it complies with the law," Mr. Moynihan said. "Committee members are saying we're not so sure. We may have to rewrite the law to make more explicit what our intentions are. I don't think intelligence officials

have taken the measure of our concern here."

Mr. Moynihan's comments are the strongest indication to date of mounting concern in Congress about U.S. intelligence operations in Central America, particularly those focused on Nicaragua. It reflects, as well, a general uneasiness among members of both parties in Congress about the Reagan administration's overall policy for the region.

Three members of the House who returned Thursday from a visit to Central America called for directly tying U.S. economic and military assistance to El Salvador to progress in reaching a negotiated settlement of the conflict there.

The three members, Representative James L. Oberstar, Democrat of Minnesota, Bill Richardson, Democrat of New Mexico, and James M. Jeffords, a Vermont Republican, called for unconditional negotiations between the Salvadoran government and the guerrillas. "At some point, if progress is not made, the money will be cut off," Mr. Oberstar said at a press conference.

When Congress reconvenes next week, the Senate and House will resume consideration of an administration request to increase military assistance to El Salvador from \$26 million to \$110 million for the current fiscal year.

Congressional concern about U.S. intelligence activities in a region has been heightened by a recent increase in fighting between

the military and anti-government forces in Nicaragua.

The escalation in hostilities, according to members of both the Senate and House intelligence committees, has raised questions about whether the CIA has aided the anti-government forces, violating the amendment passed by Congress.

Members of the Senate Intelligence Committee, including Democrats and Republicans, said this past week that a majority of senators on the panel think that the CIA has insufficient control over the paramilitary forces that it supports in the region.

As a result, the senators said, units based in Honduras and Costa Rica that have received U.S. assistance, including money, advice and military equipment, have put some of that assistance to use during their current offensive in Nicaragua.

The law passed by Congress last year prohibits American support to paramilitary groups "for the purpose of overthrowing the Nicaraguan government."

The law, named for its sponsor in the House, Representative Edward P. Boland, a Massachusetts Democrat, chairman of the House Select Committee on Intelligence, was passed after a flurry of published reports that the CIA was providing arms and financial assistance to anti-Sandinist groups based in Honduras and Costa Rica.



Representatives James L. Oberstar, center, and James M. Jeffords, right, offered recommendations at a news conference Thursday after returning to Washington from a fact-finding trip to El Salvador. At left is John McEward, a human rights activist.

Some members of Congress advocated adopting a more restrictive amendment that would bar U.S. support for any paramilitary group in Central America.

In the wake of the recent fighting between the military and anti-government forces in Nicaragua, renewed proposals for a more restrictive amendment have been discussed. Representative Michael D. Barnes, Democrat of Maryland, chairman of the House foreign affairs subcommittee on Latin America, introduced such an amendment in March.

Mr. Moynihan said that the Sen-

ate Intelligence Committee will review CIA activities in Central America during the next several weeks. He said that the committee, which tries to operate on a bipartisan basis, has not yet reached a consensus as to whether the Boland amendment has been breached.

Other members who asked not to be identified, said that sentiment on the committee runs strongly to the view that the law has been violated in spirit, if not in letter. They said that the committee chairman, Senator Barry M. Goldwater, Republican of Arizona, shares that opinion.

The two congressional intelligence committees have been troubled by the CIA's covert operations in Central America since plans for the activities were approved by President Ronald Reagan in November 1981.

The plans, according to senior national security officials, called for the creation of at least one paramilitary force in Central America. One mission was an effort to block the flow of arms which the administration says goes from the Soviet Union and Cuba, through Nicaragua, to the guerrillas in El Salvador.

## Nicaragua Aides Warn Of 'Broader Conflict'

By Edward Cody

MANAGUA — The government of Nicaragua has asserted that U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary forces have made a new thrust across the Honduran border into northeastern Nicaragua and warned that "a broader conflict" with Honduras could result.

The denunciations by Defense Minister Humberto Ortega Saavedra and Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann on Thursday marked the second time in two weeks that Nicaraguan leaders have mentioned the possibility of war with Honduras because of stepped-up attacks by anti-Sandinist guerrillas operating from Honduras.

The Nicaraguan government asserts that the Reagan administration is working through former Nicaraguan National Guard officers and the Honduran Army, to destabilize the Sandinists. The revolutionary leadership came to power in July 1979 after toppling Anastasio Somoza.

"We do not want to dramatize things," Mr. d'Escoto said, "but I think it is obvious that to the degree the Honduran leadership keeps betraying the Honduran people... to the degree the Honduran leadership keeps using its territory for harassing the Nicaraguan people, in that degree U.S. imperialism could achieve what it is seeking: that is, a broader conflict, a military conflict."

"It is time for Honduras really to choose between recovery of its sovereignty, deciding its own destiny, forging its own relations, or continuing to be used to fight a war that is not a [declared] war and that has nothing to do with the interests of our peoples," he added.

Mr. Ortega said the latest counterrevolutionary attacks came in Zelaya province, along the Coco River between Nicaragua and Honduras. He added that more than 2,000 Miskito Indians, armed by the insurgents, have gathered on the Honduran side of the river and two units totaling 250 men have entered Nicaragua over the last three days.

One unit crossed near Waspan and infiltrated south toward Santa Clara, Mr. Ortega said, while another moved across near the village of Kum, about 15 miles (24 kilometers) downriver.

Although the number of guerrillas reported in the new Zelaya fighting remained small, Mr. Ortega placed the clashes in the context of increased attacks in Matagalpa, Nueva Segovia and Chinandega provinces.

He estimated that 800 guerrillas remained in Nicaragua from a force of 1,200 that infiltrated earlier this year from Honduras in an attempt to "liberate" a patch of Nicaraguan territory. The rebels, he said, carried U.S.-financed arms.

But the clashes in Zelaya are particularly worrisome to the Sandinist leadership. The undeveloped area, the traditional domain of the Miskito and other Indian tribes, has almost no road communications, making government control difficult at best.

In addition, an estimated 13,000 Miskitos, opposing forced relocation by the Sandinists, have fled to Honduras. They have gone to refugee camps near Mocoron, becoming a ready manpower pool for counterrevolutionary organizers almost from the beginning of Sandinist rule.

Nicaraguan exile leaders in Florida and Costa Rica say one Miskito leader, Brooklyn Rivera, has allied his followers with such anti-Sandinist figures as Edén Pastora and Alfonso Robelo, who are headquartered in San José, Costa Rica.

Another Miskito leader, Stedman Fagot, has forged a rough alliance with the main counterrevolutionary group, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force.

## U.S. Investigates 4 Oil Companies' Dealings With Saudis

By Robert D. Hershey Jr.

WASHINGTON — The Justice Department is looking into possible antitrust violations in the relationship of four major American companies that jointly pump and buy most of the oil produced by Saudi Arabia.

Specifically, according to a senior department official who asked that he not be identified, the antitrust division has raised questions internally about a meeting in early January in which top officials of the companies met in Geneva with Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, the Saudi oil minister. The subject was the slumping world oil market, which had led to sharp declines in prices.

The officials, who are believed to have been summoned by Sheikh Yamani, were George M. Kellor, chairman of Standard Oil Co. of California; Clifton C. Garvin Jr., chairman of Exxon Corp.; John K. McKinley, chairman of Tesco Inc.; and William P. Tivolares, president of Mobil Corp.

The four companies operate Saudi oil facilities under contract to the Arabian American Oil Co., Aramco. The Saudi government acquired a 25-percent inter-

est in Aramco from the partners in 1973, raised its stake to 60 percent in 1974 and obtained the rest in 1980.

The January meeting, the justice official said Thursday, "caused some concern" at the department, which has not yet decided to open a formal investigation into whether the companies were engaged in anti-competitive behavior such as price-fixing.

"The procedure is you open an investigation if you think there's a reasonable possibility of discovering something," the source said. "You then start calling people requesting documents. But it's a nontrivial act to open an investigation. You have to have a reasonable probability that you're going to find something."

He said one obstacle to a formal inquiry was the issue of extrajurisdictional application of U.S. antitrust laws, which has prompted foreign criticism in various government enforcement cases in recent years.

Although there is no question that the Aramco partners, which enjoy no special antitrust immunity, are subject in all their activities to U.S. antitrust laws, there are doubts that a full-scale investigation could be made without involving other governments.

The January meeting was conducted at a time of world oversupply and when the Saudi benchmark

crude carried an official price of \$34 a barrel, well above the price at which the four companies could have purchased supplies elsewhere.

According to one account, the partners had decided to warn Sheikh Yamani that they would further cut their oil purchases unless the kingdom cut its prices or imposed new curbs on production. It is not known whether, in fact, prices were discussed at the Jan. 4 meeting, but Mr. Kellor of Standard of California, when asked afterward whether Saudi Arabia would agree to a price cut, reportedly said: "I haven't had any signs of that anywhere."

Neither Standard of California nor Exxon, which were asked Thursday for comment, had responded by early evening.

Meetings of consortium executives and Saudi officials have taken place periodically for decades. Most have been routine sessions, company spokesmen say. Prices are discussed on a one-to-one basis between the companies and the Saudi government, according to the spokesmen.

There are also said to have been special meetings involving one or more top corporate officials, usually at the initiative of Sheikh Yamani.

It is not clear whether the antitrust division regards the January meeting as significantly different from previous ones or whether the Reagan administration takes a dim view of this relationship. Assistant Attorney General William F. Baxter declined to discuss the issue Thursday.

It was also not known whether there is any relation between concern about the January meeting and a department inquiry dating from the mid-1970s into the activities of the international oil companies in general. Last September, when a New York Times interviewer asked about the long-dormant case, Mr. Baxter said he had recently "revisited it, adding: "There may be some activity there sooner or later."

Aramco, which was formed in 1933 when the Saudi government signed a concession agreement with Standard of California, produces more crude oil and natural gas liquids than any company in the world and accounts for about 97 percent of Saudi output.

In 1980, Aramco's peak year, the company's output was 3.52 billion barrels, an average of 9.63 million a day. This is about equal to total U.S. production.

In the past decade or so, Aramco has been the biggest source of crude oil supplies for the American partners.

## Reagan Gave Dobrynin Reassurance on Talks

By Leslie H. Gelb

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan met with Soviet Ambassador Anatoli F. Dobrynin in the Oval Office in February in an effort to reassure him about American sincerity toward negotiations with Moscow, according to White House officials.

The meeting took place after news reports appeared suggesting that Mr. Dobrynin was about to abandon his post here in frustration over the lack of serious negotiations with the administration.

Administration officials said Thursday that Mr. Dobrynin, who has been the Soviet ambassador to the United States for more than two decades, has come to personally channel for secret dealings between the two governments. Administration officials said his departure would have been read as a signal of rupture and lack of hope.

According to diplomatic sources, the Reagan overture was followed by a series of high-level, positive signals given publicly by Soviet leaders. But officials said the whole effort seemed to have fallen apart in the aftermath of Mr. Reagan's speech in early March accusing the Soviet Union of being the "evil empire" and Soviet leader Yuri V. Andropov in turn calling Mr. Reagan a liar.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz told a group of journalists Thursday that Soviet-American relations were "not particularly good right now." He said: "We need to work at the substance and if it turns out that the substance can be improved, then I think the tone of the relationship will improve."

Mr. Shultz mentioned several recent meetings with Mr. Dobrynin. But sources on both sides said that little or nothing was achieved. Nonetheless, the re-establishment of this channel remains the one surviving result of the Reagan initiative in mid-February.

Since he arrived in Washington in March 1962, Mr. Dobrynin has played a central role in crises and negotiations, from the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 through the strategic arms talks with the Carter administration. When delicate messages were to be passed or bargaining room sounded out, secretaries of state called in Mr. Dobrynin for private chats and drinks.

Mr. Dobrynin's easy access to the White House and the State Department was tempered sharply under Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. and closed down further under Mr. Shultz. The Soviet Embassy began to put out the story that Mr. Dobrynin felt he was wasting his time.

At a date the White House still would not provide, Mr. Reagan called him in to a meeting with Mr. Shultz, as the only other person present.

Asked about this Thursday, a White House official said they did not know "a comprehensive agenda," including human rights, arms control and other issues. No further comment would be made.

But other administration officials said Mr. Reagan told Mr. Dobrynin that he wanted the leaders of the Soviet Union to know that he was sincere about wanting to improve relations, that he was serious about arms control and that he wanted lines of communication



President Ronald Reagan, in a speech Thursday to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, said that proposals to freeze nuclear arsenals would do "more harm than good."

to stay open. Mr. Dobrynin was said to have asked whom to deal with, and Mr. Reagan pointed to Mr. Shultz.

Mr. Reagan's only other meeting with Mr. Dobrynin was in December, when he paid a condolence call at the Soviet Embassy at the time of Leonid I. Brezhnev's death.

The next move, according to diplomatic sources, came from the Soviet foreign minister, Andrei A. Gromyko, who stated in a Pravda interview on Feb. 23 that the Geneva talks on intermediate-range missiles were getting nowhere, but that "objectively, such a possibility does exist" for agreement. Defense Minister Dimitri F. Ustinov followed this with a speech on March 16, saying "the prerequisites for this success are at hand."

Western diplomats took these as positive signals, but saw no concrete indications that Moscow was prepared to alter any of its negotiating positions.

But whatever was really intended by the diplomatic telegraphy was soon swallowed up by yet another round of public recriminations.

Despite his tough and derogatory public statements about the Soviet Union, administration officials said that Mr. Reagan did not intend to close down communications. They pointed to an interview he gave to a British journalist published on March 20, in which he said he could foresee a summit meeting with Mr. Andropov sometime this year.

He also said in that interview that he was in touch with Mr. Andropov, "seeking areas of discussion for a meeting that could be beneficial to both sides."

## 2 at Pentagon Oppose Faster Laser Research

By George C. Wilson

WASHINGTON — The same day that President Ronald Reagan made his speech urging research into defenses against strategic missiles, two Pentagon officials cautioned against speeding up the current pace of research.

Major General Donald L. Lamberson of the air force, coordinator of the Pentagon's directed-energy weapons program, which includes lasers, said March 23 that he would not recommend spending more money than is already budgeted to find ways to stop missiles with beams of light shot from space.

John L. Gardner, director of defensive systems in the Pentagon's research office, said that, in discussing such exotic ideas as defenses based in space, "we cannot proceed much further than we are currently proceeding before we would confront the bounds of the anti-ballistic-missile treaty."

General Lamberson and Mr. Gardner expressed those views before a Senate Armed Services panel on strategic defense systems. Their testimony indicates that many Defense Department professionals were caught by surprise when Mr. Reagan called for an intensified ABM effort.

Although Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger knew in advance about the president's call for a "comprehensive" effort to perfect a missile defense, his remarks since then indicate that only now is the administration drafting a blueprint for doing more than the Pentagon has been doing all along.

In a question other lawmakers are expected to pursue in other hearings after the Congressional Easter recess, Senator Dan Quayle, an Indiana Republican, asked General Lamberson: "Can you recommend to the committee an acceleration of the space-based laser technology program on technical grounds?"

"Senator, no, I cannot at this point in time," the general replied. "A great amount of thought went into the plan which was submitted by the secretary last year, and which is the plan for space-based lasers that we are working against."

"In balance with other programs of the Defense Department," he said, "we stand behind that plan and would not recommend an acceleration at this point."

George A. Keyworth, Mr. Reagan's science adviser, said after the president's speech that lasers were "a very promising" way to destroy Soviet missiles before they could hit the United States.

■ Weinberger Names Panel

Mr. Weinberger has named a Defensive Technology Executive Committee to study ways to establish an antiballistic missile defense that could include laser, particle and energy beam space weapons, United Press International reported Thursday from Washington.

The panel is to include General Lamberson; Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Thayer; General John Vessey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Vince Puritano, assistant secretary and chief of the comptroller's office; David C. director of program analysis, and defense undersecretaries of the U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps.

## Lorraine Collett Petersen, the Girl On Sun-Maid Boxes, Is Dead at 90

United Press International

FRESNO, California — Lorraine Collett Petersen, 90, whose portrait has appeared on Sun-Maid raisin boxes since 1915, died Wednesday.

Although the picture was modernized several times over the years, it is still basically the same with the sun shining behind a young woman in a red bonnet, with one arm dangling over her shoulder as she clutches the basket of grapes.

Lorraine Collett was 17 when she was chosen to pose for the Fanny Stoddard portrait that was to become Sun-Maid's emblem. For her efforts, she received nothing but \$15 a week in salary as a reader and packer for a subsidiary of Sun-Maid.

one of the most popular French music hall singers and actresses between the two world wars, died Thursday at her home in Cagnes-sur-Mer near Nice.

Miss Solidor — her real name was Suzanne Rocher — was born in Brittany in 1900 and became well known in her teens for her interpretation of Breton sailors' songs and sea poems set to music. She later triumphed as the star of the first French version of Bertolt Brecht's "Threepenny Opera." She appeared in numerous French films and became a close friend of Cocteau, Colette and Sacha Guitry.

In the 1930s, her straight blonde hair inspired what became known as the "Solidor style." Numerous painters, including Dufy, Van Dongen and Picabia, painted portraits of her which she later donated to the Cagnes-sur-Mer museum.

## Block Declares Turkey Backs U.S. Against EC

Reuters

ANKARA — The United States said Friday that it had gained Turkey as a new ally in its battle against European Community food subsidies.

Agriculture Secretary John R. Block said after a series of meetings here that American and Turkish officials discussed their common problems over EC price-support programs, which the United States says undercut food exports from both countries on world markets.

"We see Turkey as an ally in the front we are presenting against EEC subsidies," Mr. Block said. "There are certain agricultural issues we have in common and which we need to deal with together."

The United States complains that it has lost sales in its traditional markets due to an unfair farm-subsidy policy by the EC of about \$7 billion a year.

Turkey is the first net exporter of food products that Mr. Block has visited on his 10-day tour of North Africa and the Middle East to drum up interest in U.S. agricultural exports.

Mr. Block said the United States wanted to be more aggressive in exporting to the Turkish market and had decided to station a full-time U.S. agricultural attaché in Ankara.

## Kaunda Warns West to Act Against Apartheid

United Press International

WASHINGTON — President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said Friday that the West must press for changes in South Africa's apartheid policy or risk a bloody explosion in the area.

"If you don't act on apartheid, that thing is going to explode," Mr. Kaunda told the National Press Club. He suggested that the West had reacted more strongly to Soviet actions in Poland than to apartheid in Africa because of a double standard for black and white nations.

Mr. Kaunda accused South Africa of trying to undermine Zambia's government, including backing a 1980 coup attempt. "We have evidence to show that South Africa was involved in this coup," he said.

The African leader was winding up a Washington visit that included talks with President Ronald Reagan and other high-ranking

U.S. officials. He arranged to leave Saturday morning.

In his speech, Mr. Kaunda said that his talks here had contributed to a better understanding between the two countries. But Mr. Kaunda chided the West, particularly the United States, for failing to pressure South Africa's white government to change its policies.

Mr. Kaunda said that he has "no doubt" apartheid would be "finished" if the West moved against apartheid seriously.

"Without action," he said, "racial violence will explode in South Africa" and "the French Revolution look like a Sunday morning children's picnic."

■ Supports Cuban Troops

Earlier, Dan O'Rourke of the Washington Post filed the following dispatch from Washington:

Mr. Kaunda said Thursday that he very strongly supported the presence of Cuban military forces in Angola under present circumstances and called on the United States to create conditions to permit them to be sent home.

The African leader, fresh from discussions with Mr. Reagan, Secretary of State George P. Shultz and other U.S. officials, described the presence of the Cubans as necessary to counter the "illegal" occupation by South African forces of parts of Angola and of neighboring South-West Africa (Namibia).

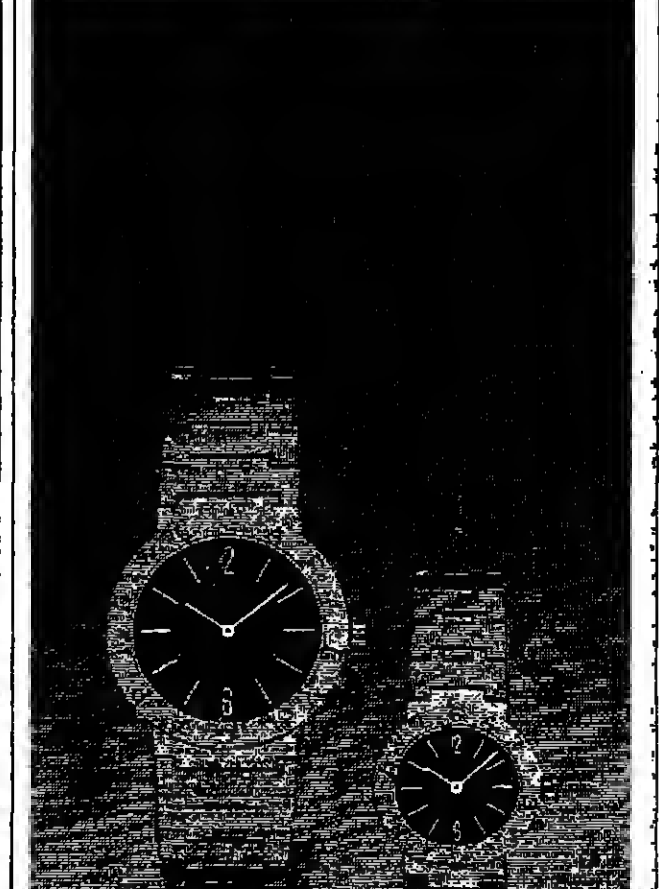
Pretoria assumed control of South-West Africa after the German defeat in World War I and in recent years has been fighting guerrillas seeking independence for the former colony.

In a breakfast meeting sponsored by the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, Mr. Kaunda urged the

are expected to pursue in other hearings after the Congressional Easter recess, Senator Dan Quayle, an Indiana Republican, asked General Lamberson: "Can you recommend to the committee an acceleration of the space-based laser technology program on technical grounds?"

■ Weinberger Names Panel

Mr. Weinberger has named a Defensive Technology Executive Committee to study ways to establish an antiballistic missile defense that could include laser, particle and energy beam space weapons, United Press International reported Thursday from Washington.



**BVLGARI**

10 VIA DEI CONDOTTI - ROMA  
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AVENUE DES BEAUX-ARTS - MONTE CARLO  
HOTEL PLAZA-ATHENEE - PARIS



# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## Financial Connections

Interest rates, as you may have noticed, have been inching slightly but steadily upward for the past month or so. It is nothing dramatic or, so far, terribly significant, merely a reminder that the coming recovery is not going to solve all of America's economic troubles. Interest rates are clearly not going to follow the trend of inflation downward. Over the past winter inflation has been negative; consumer prices in February were actually just a bit lower than they were last November. But interest rates are not moving with them.

Because interest rates have edged up, dollar rates against other currencies are also up a little. And because that makes American exports harder to sell, by the same slight degree, it is not helpful for American employment. The drop in American exports last year was chiefly responsible for the unexpected prolongation of a recession that, everyone thought a year ago, would surely end last spring.

The rise in the interest rates is a reaction to the rapid increases in the money supply and the swelling federal deficit. Usually the government's borrowing requirements in the spring quarter are negligible, because of income tax filings in April. This year is apparently going to see a startling departure from that pattern. One economist, Henry Kaufman of Salomon Brothers, the investment banking firm, estimates that the Treasury will need to

borrow \$42 billion in this year's spring quarter. That is four times the borrowing in the same quarter last year. Against that kind of pressure the Federal Reserve Board can hope to stabilize either the money supply or the interest rates, but not both.

The financial markets' economists are worth listening to. John D. Paulus of Morgan Stanley argues that large deficits and rising interest rates will not choke off the economic recovery now beginning, but will distort it in deeply damaging ways. "What is at stake for U.S. workers is not just jobs," he recently observed, "but the quality of their jobs." Sustained high interest costs and heavy federal borrowing will slow the flow of capital into the competitive new industries that promise the highest productivity gains. It is productivity that raises real wages and standards of living.

From its beginning the Reagan administration has run a self-contradictory economic policy. It points its fiscal policy in one direction, with hugely expansive deficits, and its monetary policy in the other, with tight money and high interest. It would be a bitter irony if this administration, after all its talk about increasing capital formation and productivity, ended by stunting and derailing those crucial processes with its uncontrolled deficits. But that is the warning from Wall Street.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Profiles and Justice

In their own legalistic way, the Supreme Court justices do play rough. Consider what William Rehnquist called Byron White's opinion in an airport arrest case recently: a "meandering opinion," replete with "opaque nuances," one that "stutters, fudges and fumbles"—fine as an impressionist painting, "but the same cannot be said if it is to be judged by the standards of a judicial opinion."

Justice White had delivered the court's judgment reversing a drug conviction in an opinion explaining why a "drug courier profile," often used to identify suspected smugglers, is not always enough to justify an arrest.

Drawing such careful distinctions is hard work for moderate judges, and easy for absolutists. Yet it is the court's vital task to draw the line between lawful police activity and the invasion of citizens' rights.

Far from vituperation, Justice White and his co-signers deserve credit for trying.

The opinion acknowledged that airport searches and other encounters between police and citizens are so varied that courts cannot always lay down rules that are both clear and simple. "Nevertheless," as Justice White said, "we must render judgment."

Detectives spotted young Mark Royer walking through the Miami airport with two heavy suitcases, looking nervous. They watched him pay for his airline ticket to New York in small bills. His mannerisms, luggage and actions fit the "profile" of traits that many drug couriers share. When they stopped him and asked for identification, they found that he had bought the ticket under an assumed name. Holding his ticket and a driver's license, the detectives invited Mr. Royer to a nearby interrogation room, where he was allowed them to open his luggage. Sure enough, marijuana.

The trouble, said Justice White, was that, realistically speaking, the traveler was under illegal arrest when he gave that consent. His arrest was based on suspicion, which is less than the probable cause required for police to deprive a person of liberty.

For the dissenters, the issue was simple and the drug profile essentially adequate to justify the detention and search. But if they had prevailed, many an innocent traveler would have fresh cause for anxiety. All that cautious talk in the Rehnquist dissent about fudge and impressionism hardly helps the court or liberty.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Opinion

### Bishops and Disobedience

The British churches, all of which have been agitated over the moral issues of nuclear defense, are now to be invited to agitate about the related issue of civil disobedience. The international affairs department of the British Council of Churches has produced a report which favors the right to withhold taxes and the use of nonviolent but illegal forms of protest by those who oppose nuclear defense policy on moral grounds.

Before the churches concerned have even begun to digest the argument, let alone the conclusions, the government's controversial bill extending police powers has raised the matter in a quite different way. Like such groups as the British Medical Association, the bishops of the Church of England have declared their resistance to the bill, particularly the potential invasion of priestly confidence entailed in the proposed powers of search. The BMA has indicated that doctors will, on grounds of conscience, break the law if it is passed. The bishops could hardly do less, if it came in the point that the doctors. This would be civil disobedience.

—Clifford Langley in The Times (London).

### Qadhafi's Isolation Grows

The announcement of a coming friendship and cooperation pact between the Soviet Union and Libya is an initiative that benefits Libya more than the Soviets (who know the Arab-Islamic world offers varied and more promising opportunities) and the Qadhafi regime more than Libyans themselves. Colonel Qadhafi is constantly more isolated and more threatened. Not only is he in the sights of President Reagan, who from time to time produces military action to show that his verbal ardor can materialize at any moment; not only is he singled out by the Western countries, which accuse him of stirring up all sorts of terrorism and of financing subversive movements — he is also rejected by most Arab countries. Current active diplomatic move-

ment toward a grand Maghreb (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia) may never produce a solid result, but it does suggest the makings of an anti-Libyan front, and raise hope that if Libya could rid itself of Col. Qadhafi it could join in the movement and profit more from wealth than currently appears to be wasted.

All Col. Qadhafi's initiatives in recent months have been decidedly defensive, suggesting fright and a feeling of encirclement. The announcement of the Soviet treaty, while Tunisians, Algerians and Moroccans improve relations and the Sixth Fleet cruises off Libya's shores, reflects this growing insecurity. The eventuality of an internal coup against Col. Qadhafi cannot be ruled out.

—El País (Madrid).

### France and Cambodia

It appears to us that [French Foreign Minister Claude] Cheysson uttered highly contradictory statements during his visits here and to Hanoi. [They] concerned the French attitude toward Hanoi and especially the Cambodia problem created by Vietnam's by its invasion and colonization of that unhappy country.

The first event was the signing of a "joint declaration" by the European and ASEAN foreign ministers. By his signature, he "deplored the illegal military occupation of Cambodia by Vietnamese forces." He called for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia and for elections supervised by the United Nations. Then he flew off to Hanoi, where he said that France did not want to see Vietnamese forces pulled out of Cambodia, at least not right away, because the Khmer Rouge would then likely overthrow the Heng Samrin regime and regain control.

Confused? Well, we are, Mr. Cheysson, it seems, wanted to be on both sides of an issue. His remarks in Hanoi come dangerously close to supporting colonialism. What is called for, we think, is some more explanation from the French foreign minister about what he really means and really wants.

—The Bangkok Post.

## FROM OUR APRIL 2 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1908: Trouble Feared in Haiti

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti — The excitement among General Couteau is growing. Madame Gallette, who is in prison, has confirmed to the judge General Merette's statement about General Couteau being the real author of the conspiracy of March 15 and that he spoke of killing whites. The people are terrified by the negro General Couteau and declare him to be capable of anything. Preparations have been made to defend the French legation. Fresh troubles are feared, for the rivalry between negroes and mulattoes is becoming more acute. So great is the anxiety that the intervention of the United States appears to be desired, and not only by the foreign residents.

### 1933: Jewish Shops Boycotted

BERLIN — Of all the topsy-turvy happenings of this eventful age no spectacle has been more curious than that witnessed here [yesterday] — one of the most highly civilized nations making discrimination against the entire race of Jews. The 24-hour boycott of all Jewish shops, which is likely to be resumed if anti-German propaganda abroad does not totally cease, was carried out all over the Reich. After the boycott began at 10 o'clock, bands of brownshirts went around the town pasting labels consisting of a big yellow spot on a black background — the sign that the Jews were forced to wear on their sleeves in the days of the ghetto — on the windows of Jewish shops.



## Violence and Hope in Central America

By Lawrence A. Pezzullo

WASHINGTON — Central America has become surrealistic. The Sandinistas, who advertise their revolution as a religious experience, treat the pope to a Roman circus. The Salvadoran military spends more money in internal squabbles than in fighting insurgents. President Reagan calls El Salvador the linchpin of the hemisphere. No wonder people are confused.

Central America has been plagued by violence for decades without attracting much notice. Why all the attention now?

The collapse of the Somoza dynasty in July 1979 broke a psychological logjam for change that had been building throughout the region for decades. The fear generated by the rapid change that followed is as evident in Nicaragua, where self-proclaimed revolutionaries are ineffective in dealing with it, as in El Salvador and Guatemala, where vested interests cling to the past.

One myth must be put to rest. The Somoza regime fell because it was corrupt and turned all sectors of Nicaraguan society against it. Anastasio Somoza, not Fidel Castro, was the villain.

There was no way to save Gen. Somoza. His closest allies in Central America turned their backs on him. The Carter administration was present at the wake, but was hardly to blame for his demise. The Nixon administration should have advised Gen. Somoza not to run for an "illegal" second term in 1974. A political opening at that time would have permitted the democratic opposition an opportunity to build a political transition from dictatorship to democracy.

The last opportunity to pave the way to a non-violent transition of power came during the OAS-sponsored mediation from October 1978 to January 1979. The United States, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic, representing the OAS, attempted unsuccessfully to get Gen. Somoza to negotiate seriously with a coalition of predominantly moderate forces. In aborting that effort, he radicalized the political environment and fostered the popular insurrection that toppled him. He created the Sandinista power base among noncommunist Nicaraguans, something the Sandinistas, even with help from Fidel Castro, were unable to achieve on their own.

Gen. Somoza dragged the National Guard

down with him. Its destruction sent a clear signal to other armed forces in Central America.

Gen. Somoza's fall acted as a catalyst for change because it destroyed the illusion of the permanence of the "old order" in Central America. Groups of all political persuasions perceived his fall in symbolic terms, each calculating more often miscalculating — how it would affect its future. Enlightened sectors of the military in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala embraced reform programs to avoid suffering the same fate as the Nicaraguan National Guard.

The overthrow of the moribund Salvadoran regime of President Carlos Humberto Romero in October 1979 was engineered by a cabal of reform-minded military officers.

Three years later Gen. Efraín Rios Montt, similarly motivated, toppled a repressive military-controlled Guatemalan government.

Guerrilla groups throughout the region interpreted the Sandinista victory as evidence that Central America was ripe for revolution. The Sandinistas helped create this illusion by deliberately misreading their own access to power. It was not the result, as they boasted, of their defeating the National Guard, but rather the consequence of a popular insurrection by the Nicaraguan people of all political stripes.

Mr. Castro bought the "domino theory," which local guerrilla groups were feeding him to get his support. As the "godfather" of Latin American revolutionaries, he was unable to ignore their arguments. Indeed, he could not rule out the possibility that the era of Central American revolution had arrived. His intelligence came from covert agents given to action, not objective analysis. So Mr. Castro became a believer, conditioning his support on the unification of guerrilla factions in each country.

The oligarchy in El Salvador and kindred groups in Guatemala and, to a lesser extent, in Honduras saw the walls closing in on them and mounted a major campaign to convince the political right in the United States that "communism," not their exploitative and corrupt

practices, was the root cause of instability.

The internal drama in Central America centers on the interplay of these forces: legitimate political parties scarred by repression and denied the experience to develop political skills; enlightened businessmen tarred by the corruption of a tarnished business sector; an embattled media, and, most important, semiliterate peasants and indigenous people who suffer the failures and abuses of governments.

Opportunists of all stripes, some indigenous and some outsiders, jump on and off bandwagons. Various actors in the international community add their voices. And instead of helping Central Americans search for solutions, Washington unwittingly becomes part of the problem.

The United States has entered into a play of forces that it neither understands nor can control. Neither the extreme right, which is wedded to the past, nor the extreme left, which offers another form of repression, is a viable force.

By identifying Cuban/Soviet subversion as the cause of the Central American turmoil, Washington shields the abusive factions from taking responsibility for their failures, and lessens the pressure on them to change.

At the same time it gives the Cubans and Soviets more credit than they deserve among a populace unhappy with the status quo and pressing for change. North Americans repeat the historical error of positioning themselves, the most change-oriented society on the globe, as seemingly defending the status quo.

Central Americans will have to come to grips with their intimately intertwined national and regional problems, and the United States can help. There is no surer way to curb Cuban involvement than to strengthen the historical Central American interest in regional cooperation.

But by speaking intemperately and substituting posturing for thoughtful policy, Washington is losing support both at home and with an important hemisphere and world audience that is tired of listening to its clichés.

The writer, now retired, was U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua from 1979 to 1981. He contributed this column to the Los Angeles Times.

## The Pressures on Nakasone Will Keep Growing

By Hobart Rowen

TOKYO — This is probably the most critical year of all in our relations with Japan. That is the sober judgment of U.S. Ambassador Mike Mansfield, whose efforts to achieve a sensible compromise on outstanding U.S.-Japan issues have made him a revered figure here.

In an interview, Mr. Mansfield said that Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's effort to further open Japanese markets to foreign goods, and a professed willingness to share military technology with the United States, "have bought some time."

But it is clear to this reporter after a week of conversations with officials on both sides, business leaders and other opinion makers, that the tensions have grown, not lessened.

Moreover, what are widely regarded as indiscretions by Mr. Nakasone on his recent trip to America — where he displayed a hawkish stance toward Moscow to the point of offering to make the Japanese islands an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" — have weakened his popular support.

As a result, factions in his Liberal Democratic party are already gunning for him. They think Mr. Nakasone is willing to make too many concessions to the United States on trade and economic issues.

A further complication is that the Reagan administration is now pressing what amounts to an unrelenting effort to get Japan to beef up not only the total amount of its defense expenditures, but its true military capabilities in the present year.

Washington regards the Soviet Union as the enemy. But most Japanese, although uncomfortable with needless provocations from the Russians, still prefer to regard the Soviet Union as "a difficult neighbor."

One problem is that Tokyo is not really sure how much of an additional military budget will satisfy the Reagan administration.

There is no longer any disposition to contest Washington's point that Japan is getting a "free ride" when its budget calls for less than 1 percent of GNP for defense. At the first opportunity, Mr. Nakasone intends to try to pull the Diet into a commitment breaking the 1-percent barrier.

But U.S. officials have been emphasizing to their counterparts here that merely to break into the 1.5- or 2-percent zone of defense spending will not relieve Japan of the "free ride" charge. There is talk of "burden sharing" that can be achieved only if Japan expands economic assistance abroad and undertakes vaguely defined political and diplomatic responsibilities around the world.

Japanese officials told Henry Kissinger, Helmut Schmidt, Raymond

Barre and other Westerners at a round-table discussion here this week that Japan will be able to move only slowly into a more active military posture. These Japanese officials are a bit bewildered by what seems an expanded American demand.

On strictly economic and trade issues, Japan still must deal with the "fairness" question. Prof. Ezra Vogel, whose book "Japan as Number One" has attracted attention here, feels that the widespread belief that Japan does not play the trade game fairly will lead to lots of protectionist bills in the U.S. Congress. But the public perception here is that Japan is being scapegoated for what are essentially American competitive failures.

The Japanese are astonished by complaints such as that of Rep. Sam

Gibbons here this week that Japan targets industries for export attack, picking a product and then marshaling all forces to take it over. The Japanese public believes that American companies complaining about lack of access to Japanese markets are simply not doing a good enough job.

"That is a very powerful feeling," says Prof. Vogel. "We've been doing a lot of speaking to Japanese groups, and that's very much the mood you get in the question period."

Where does the truth lie? Prof. Vogel says that the Japanese markets are not as open as some Japanese believe, "but not as closed as a lot of Americans believe." The cutting edge of the problem is that in high-tech areas where the United States has a lead, the Japanese policy still is to

buy as few foreign machines as possible, then to work hard to produce something as good or better.

In agricultural goods, the protectionist power of the farm lobbies is unshaken. After 20 years of effort, America has moved only from 1 to 1.4 percent of the cigarette market. Beef quotas do nothing except line producers' pockets at the expense of the Japanese consumer, who otherwise would be able to buy cheaper American or Australian meat.

One puts the feeling that Mr. Nakasone is trying harder than any recent Japanese prime minister to shake off unfair practices. He meets some resistance in the Japanese bureaucracy and in the business world. But to survive he will have to pacify Japanese public opinion that fears his hawkish trend in military affairs.

The Washington Post.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### In Christ's Name?

Regarding "Reagan and His Political Opponents Escalate Religious and Moral Rhetoric" (HT, March 25):

Ronald Reagan claims that critics of his policies on arms control and military spending try to place the United States in "a position of moral inferiority" and that the Cold War is "a struggle between right and wrong, good and evil." The irony is that he continues to arm El Salvador while the rape and murder of five U.S. churchwomen by Salvadoran National Guardsmen goes unresolved.

MICHAEL MULLIGAN, Munich.

Regarding "Connecticut Congregation Preaching Ethics in Business" (HT, March 2): by Michael Winery:

Christians the world over should beware the distortion of their faith as implied in Mr. Winery's report on the daylong seminar sponsored by St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Darien, Connecticut. The theme of the gathering — "Is Christ chairman of your board?" — is an affront to the essential tenets of Christianity.

What these communicants at St. Paul's were discussing had nothing to do with the significance of Jesus Christ. They were simply evaluating the payoff of ethical behavior. The principles of decent morality are no monopoly of Christianity and were identified by mankind long before the arrival of Jesus of Nazareth.

Let the good people of St. Paul's go back to the Epistles that their patron saint sent to the young churches of his parish-at-large. They will find

therein no suggestions implying the efficacy of "Pray now and get paid later" that appear to have intrigued the burghers of Darien. Paul of Tarsus was not indifferent to good works; he simply pointed out that they were the rightful expression of a Christian faith and were, moreover, irrelevant to one's credentials with God. Obviously, moral principles are an essential basis for a high quality of life hereabouts. But they are not the invention of Christ and they have nothing to do with the ultimate significance of Christianity.

THOMAS C. SCHULLER, Beirut.

Regarding "A Blanket, Candy, a New Testament, a Frisbee" (HT, March 16) by Don Connell:

As Beirut residents, we appreciate the perceptive comments of Mr. Connell. We would like to make one correction and one addition. Agencies like Save the Children, Oxfam, Catholic Relief Services and the Middle East Council of Churches (Protestant and Orthodox) assist needy residents of Lebanon across institutions they help do not discriminate on any basis other than need.

As for the addition: We are most concerned over the negative position taken by current Lebanese authori-

ties in relation to the foreign nurses and doctors volunteering for service here. The sponsorship of these agencies, visas are being denied, work permits are not extended and limitations are being set on whether or not these volunteers are assigned to Palestinian communities.

The excuse is said to be that Lebanese should have the jobs. Actually there are not nearly enough nurses to go around, and few Lebanese doctors could be willing to work full-time under the conditions and terms that the foreign doctors accept. These bureaucratic blocks reflect a disturbing anti-Palestinianism on the part of those who forget that Lebanon's real enemy is not the Palestinians expelled from their homeland next door 35 years ago but rather the Israelis who expelled them and now occupy one-third of Lebanon as well.

For security reasons, I ask that my name not appear on this letter.

Beirut.  
Mr. Connell, in his well-documented article, offers an interesting list of recommendations for turning the situation around in Lebanon. It seems to me, however, that the most obvious solution to the Lebanese problem lies in the withdrawal of all foreign troops. This would allow the Lebanese government to exercise full authority over its own territory and stop to subversion, protecting all those who reside legally on its soil and ensuring their welfare.

GHIDA KHALIDY, Beirut.

Regarding "A Blanket, Candy, a New Testament, a Frisbee" (HT, March 16) by Don Connell:

As Beirut residents, we appreciate the perceptive comments of Mr. Connell. We would like to make one correction and one addition. Agencies like Save the Children, Oxfam, Catholic Relief Services and the Middle East Council of Churches (Protestant and Orthodox) assist needy residents of Lebanon across institutions they help do not discriminate on any basis other than need.

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## The Jews Who Can't Emigrate

By Leopold Unger

JERUSALEM — Professor Nahum Neiman, 72, is a Soviet Jewish scholar who has been waiting since 1975 for a passport to come live in Israel with his only child. His requests to leave have been refused regularly, although, as he says, "I haven't got much time left."

As a result of this permanent frustration of his rights, Prof. Neiman joined Andrei Sakharov and his wife in founding the Helsinki Group, which, until its recent KGB-initiated breakup, recorded violations of civil rights in the Soviet Union.

The professor addressed a letter to the Madrid conference that has placed the issue of Soviet Jews on the agenda of those international talks. He asked a simple question: If the Helsinki follow-up sessions are not able to solve a patently clear violation of civil rights such as the one I represent, what good are you?

The Madrid conference could receive many letters of this kind. More than 400,000 Jews who have been invited by relatives in Israel may find themselves in the same situation as Prof. Neiman, since the number of refusals of the right to leave the Soviet Union has mushroomed since the "liberal" Yuri Andropov came to power.

From 1970 to 1982 about 270,000 Jews were allowed out, but only 2,700 in 1982. Emigration has practically ceased. The average dropped from 4,500 departures a month in 1975 to 125 in February and 21 in the first two weeks of March.

As if that were not enough, the life of refuseniks becomes increasingly difficult among the Russians. At least 20 are in prison, including Josef Begun, a mathematician sentenced for "parasitism" because after he asked to emigrate he could no longer find a job and managed to earn a living by giving private Hebrew lessons.

Hundreds of refuseniks are subjected to various forms of official discrimination as well as to growing "popular" anti-Semitism. A new game has cropped up in Soviet schools, called "concentration camp." Jewish children are invited to play, but then are no longer called by their names but by a number.

It's all there again: Jews are not allowed to leave the Soviet Union, and their lives are made intolerable.

This is what the just-concluded Third World Conference on Soviet Jewry discussed in Jerusalem. The meeting was called to follow the first two held in 1971 and 1976 in Brussels, and after discussions it reached the same conclusion: The situation of the Jews in Russia is not a political but a humanitarian issue.

What Soviet Jews want is either the right to live as Jews in the Soviet Union or the right to leave.

Yet, although the question of Jews in the Soviet Union is uniquely a humanitarian one, it has never shed its political nature. It is a crying denunciation of the failure of communism.

If Moscow did allow 270,000 Jews to emigrate, it was because Soviet Jews have maintained constant pressure, but especially because the emigration issue is a very real factor in Soviet-U.S. relations. It has figured in all U.S.-Soviet negotiations. The figures speak for themselves: Emigration varies according to the state of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Delegates to the Jerusalem meeting suggested many different reasons for the Soviet attitude toward the Jews, but the 1,500 delegates from 31 countries — many of them non-Jews — agreed on the moral aspect of solidarity with the 3 million Soviet Jews, the biggest Jewish community outside the United States and Israel.

Josef Mendelovich, who was able to leave the Soviet Union after paying for the right to be a Jew by spending nine years in the Gulag, read a message to the assembly in Jerusalem. It was a letter from a "prisoner of Zion," a Jew still in a Soviet camp, who made only one request: "Don't forget us. We have no hope except in you. If you were to be silent, we would no longer exist."

International Herald Tribune.

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3



ARTS / LEISURE

# The Implausibility of 'Ben'

By Michael Gibson  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — One of the more implausible artistic events of recent years is the more or less simultaneous presentation of the work of Ben Vauthier, better known as Ben, in 14 different places in Paris — art galleries, a theatre and a cinema.

Ben is the foremost French spokesman of Fluxus, a movement recently described by an American critic as "Dada plus vanitas." As such he is part clown, part philosopher — although his philosophy is rather like one of those tingly machines that take off with a reading noise, break into steam and sparks and finally destroy themselves.

Ben is hyperactive, with a manic capacity for work and worry and talk. Like Yasser Arafat, he always manages to have a three-dayamble on his chin, and he goes around in a Volkswagen van with all over with the "wisdom of Ben" — a creaky, rubbery old vehicle that hardly leads one to take him seriously. Still, it may give one pause to realize that his jerry-built "boutique" from Nice (a sort of portable favela with inscriptions) is now enshrined in the National Museum of Modern Art at the Pompidou Center. It was known in Nice as the Galerie BOUT — for "Ben, donne de tout" (Ben has done about everything).

As far as can be ascertained, he was born in Naples in 1935, the son of an Irish mother and a French-speaking Swiss father. He grew up in Turkey, Egypt and Greece and settled in Nice in 1949. He speaks English with a French accent laced with brogue, and French influenced by something hard to place, possibly Egyptian lilt.

Ben has been active as an artist (or whatever he may be) since 1958 and has been a familiar figure on the international art scene for at least 15 years, getting himself noticed, for instance, at the 1972 Documenta in Kassel by installing a bed on a dais in one of the ground floor exhibition halls, and then getting into the bed and snoozing through the inauguration.

Ben claims filiation with Marcel Duchamp and John Cage, which is as may be. In any event his activity is based on a few simple assumptions that he drew from the dicta of Duchamp and/or Cage: Art is life and life is art and everything is art and art is everything. Starting from this sort of premise one is bound to run into some problems of elementary logic, but these problems are the substance of Ben's work, the contradictions that feed his manic drive.

He is a great talker (talk is art), a year or two ago he had a show at Daniel Templeton's gallery in which he would sit behind a desk and hold forth on a subject close to him (almost any subject is close to him) as soon as a visitor appeared. Ben obviously represents the carnival streak in art and this suggests that he should probably be encouraged to get implausible events going in the streets at fixed dates.

The current showing of his work includes "Portraits 1962-1983" at the Galerie Beaumont (23 rue du Renard through April 30), a perfect illustration of both the music and the carnival streak. Almost anything goes into these portraits, including the kitchen sink, empty paint tins, wire coat hangers and whatever unremarkable object happens to be handy. They are glibly slotted with paint and have absolutely no aesthetic interest in any recognized sense of the word. Their real attraction is of the sort offered by a clown — remembering that any good clown is a pro.

The Lucien Durrant Gallery (19 rue Mazarme through April 9) is

presenting "Les Bananes" — a series of bananas done on unpainted canvas with paint pressed directly out of the tube and solemnly framed in high-quality frames. Here again one must bear in mind that any carnival is an act of plebeian insolence and vitality that stands the world on its head.

Chantal Crousel, who will be showing painted shop fronts (whatever they may be) in her gallery (80 rue Quincampoix, starting April 30) is also sponsoring a showing of Ben's films at La Republique, a splendid Japanese extravaganza of a building, now a cinema (at the corner of the rue de Babylone and rue Monsieur), at midnight April 29. The films are all shorts, showing events such as Ben, wrapped from head to foot in a gummy sack, rolling somebodies blind through regular weekly traffic to get to the other side of an avenue in Nice.

There is to be a Fluxus International show featuring Ben (obviously at the J and J Drouot Gallery 57 rue de la Republique, April 6 through April 30) and a show of Ben's writings, old and new, at Templeton's (30 rue Beaumont, April 13 through May 12). These are mostly simple statements done in childish script, white on a black ground, or vice versa. Some examples: "I am a failure as an artist," "I paint for glory," "While you look at this time passes," "Who

was right, Duchamp or Matisse?" "Anybody can have an idea."

Ben has become not an institution (fortunately) but a familiar feature and a jester of the art world. Like any jester he knows that gossip and indiscretion are his business, and among his many activities one should mention the publication of a sloppy bulletin (sloppiness is part of Ben's style) full of art world gossip, self-deprecating comments, worry about what this or that critic said about him ("He isn't even funny," says Rastelli in "Art and Art") and sweeping statements about just about anything. (The bulletin's name changes from one issue to the next, but it is always a two-syllable word with "art" as the second syllable).

Like any efficient jester, he is also a good barometer of the situation in the court at which he serves. Ben's court is mainly the art community of France and West Germany. But one should bear in mind that life of the imagination in any court has two poles, the jester is one and the high priest is the other. It is the jester's business to deride the priest, and the priest's to smear at the jester. Today's priests (officials in museums) appear to be sitting down and listening solemnly to the jester — which is no fun, for the jester can very quickly become a cause of ruin and confusion.



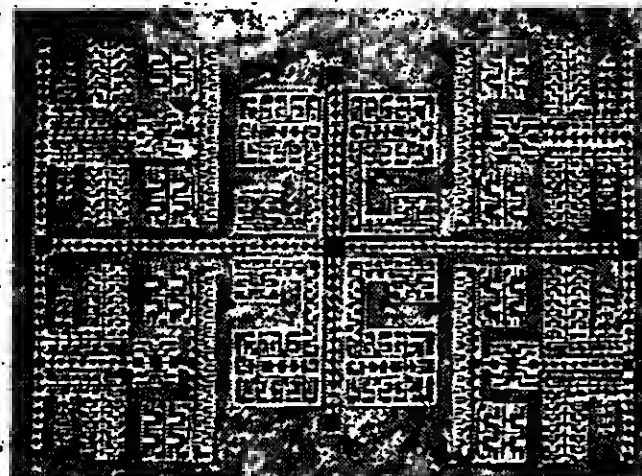
Ben Vauthier amid samples of his work.

# Designs for Rugs, Tapestries Draw Low Bids

By Sourin Melikian  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — It doesn't pay to be a great master — the greatest in your field — if your achievement is not publicized. Even the current dearth of high-quality pieces in almost every field of art won't help in boosting prices. A striking illustration of the art market inertia when confronted with important work of a little-known type has just been provided by an auction covering 20th-century objects d'art.

The sale conducted Wednesday at Drouot by Gilles Néret-Minet included 52 designs in pen and wash or gouache done as cartoons



Detail of labyrinth in cartoon by Ivan da Silva Bruhns.

for rugs and tapestries by Ivan da Silva Bruhns. While the name may not mean a great deal to the general public, Da Silva Bruhns is acknowledged by most experts and collectors of Art Deco as the leading creator of rugs and tapestries in the 1920s and '30s. To them his stature is about the same as Emile Ruhlmann's in furniture making or Jean Dunant's in lacquer and metalwork. This view was shared in the artist's lifetime. His was one of the most successful careers any artist can hope for.

Da Silva Bruhns, who was born in Paris in 1881 of Brazilian parents, retained his "Brazilian" passport until his death in 1980. However, he had little to do with the homeland of his ancestors and was totally immersed in Parisian life, having studied medicine and biology, he almost immediately turned to painting. He did his work at the Salon des Indépendants as early as 1911 and went on sending in paintings through 1923. From 1913 he also contributed to the Salon d'Automne, of which he remained a member until 1936. Indeed, painting appears to have been his great dream. A kind of late Cubistic interpretation in oils of a stone head from pre-Columbian Mexico could be seen at the sale. It is dated 1977, only three years before his death in Antibes. By then, Da Silva Bruhns had given up doing cartoons.

The beginning of his success as an avant-garde designer coincided with the emergence of the Art Deco style. He opened a gallery at 9 Rue de Poisson in 1925, the year when the great World Exhibition of Decorative Art at the Pavillon de Marsan — a part of the Louvre palace — consecrated the new style. Da Silva Bruhns' rugs won him a *medaille d'honneur* at the Art Deco show. In contrast to avant-garde painting and sculpture,

which aroused little interest, avant-garde design was well received. Commissioned from official quarters as well as the very rich showered upon Da Silva Bruhns. He executed rugs and tapestries for the French embassies in Berlin, Warsaw and Washington, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Senate in Paris and the Palais des Nations in Geneva.

In 1930, a traveling exhibition of his rugs was seen in nine cities in the United States. His fame even reached India, where a modern-minded ruler, the Maharaja of Indore, commissioned rugs.

For 15 years, between 1925 and 1940, the painter-designer worked with leading interior decorators and furniture makers of the period — Lelou, Ruhlmann, Adnet. His clients included the writers André Gide and Sacha Guitry, the entertainers Mistinguett or Cécile Sorel and the diplomat André François Poncet and the royal family of Monaco.

The secret of Da Silva Bruhns' success lies in the knack he had of drawing motifs from ancient arts that were familiar to the establishment and giving them a modern flavor in layout and color-scheme. Looking at the cartoons on Wednesday's sale, one could not but be astonished by the wide range of cultures from which he borrowed. The Art Nouveau and Art Deco eras; Egyptian motifs; who wrote a brief preface to the catalog and described the items, rightly mentions Aztec patterns. These were for instance the source for a splendid project in gouache and wash dated 1937. The beige motif, suggestive of a bas-relief, stands out against a warm red background. That was sold for 2,200 francs (about \$300).

made up for by the worldwide network of Felix Marillat's business contacts. No matter where the sale is held, prices just don't vary very much.

Given the rarity of Da Silva Bruhns' surviving cartoons, this state of affairs is even more remarkable. It might change soon, though. One of the main buyers at the sale was Barry Friedman, from the New York gallery, Modernism, on Madison Avenue, who specializes in Modernist furniture of the 1930s and its earlier Austrian predecessors. He is reportedly planning a rug exhibition in which the splendid cartoons should feature prominently. Prices are unlikely to be the same after that.

It may not be long before the European and American museums that overlooked Da Silva Bruhns' cartoons in Monte Carlo and Paris when most could be had for under \$500, or the Paris dealers who stood by, watching him, will be feeling the first pangs of regret at the missed opportunity.

# Naples Stages 'Salammbô,' a Rare Mussorgsky

By William Weaver  
International Herald Tribune

NAPLES — Like all Italian opera houses, the historic Teatro San Carlo of Naples in recent years has suffered a decline. The usual disasters — strikes, lack of funds, incompetence — were exacerbated by a natural catastrophe: a fire that destroyed much of the theater's warehouse.

But this season under a new artistic director, Roberto de Simone, an alert scholar and a lively, experienced man of the theater, and a new general manager, Francesco Canessa, a leading Neapolitan music critic, the old house is regaining some of its dynamism.

The applause that greeted its latest production was, of course, partly meant to acknowledge the undeniable merits of the performance, but partly, too, it was intended to thank the new regime. The production was the first staging ever of Mussorgsky's unfinished opera "Salammbô," composed in the early 1860s when the composer was in his 20s.

After beginning work on the opera with great enthusiasm, Mussorgsky abandoned the piece. Eventually the six numbers he had written were published posthumously in the Soviet edition of his complete works, with a note by the expert Pavel Lamm. This edition came to the attention of the conductor Zoltan Pesko, a Hungarian long resident in Italy, who prepared a performing version of the music, which was then heard in a concert in Milan in 1980. The concert was recorded and Italy's Fonit Cetra company later issued a two-LP album.

Much of the work is Pesko's, as the conductor freely declares. The six numbers Mussorgsky composed lastingly roughly 30 minutes each, but for the most part in piano score. Only about 15 percent of the music was orchestrated. Pesko naturally maintained the text, the tunes and the harmony, but created his own orchestration for the rest, and, on the basis of this week's hearing, one can say it is admirably discreet. Pesko does not attempt to make the callow but gifted young composer of "Salammbô" sound like the more mature and experienced composer of "Boris Godunov." Still, the two composers were the same person, and it is fascinating to hear many characteristic turns of phrase, fragments of times that turn up in Mussorgsky's masterpiece.

But staging the music presented considerable problems. It was like taking a selection of "highlights" from an opera and saying to the director: "Put this on." Crucial scenes — the death of Salammbô, for one — are missing. The characters (there are really only two, Salammbô and Matho) do not develop.

The Soviet avant-garde director Yuri Lyubimov has had little operatic experience, most of it in Italy. His eccentric staging of "Boris" at La Scala was not, in the eyes of many, very encouraging. But he met the challenge of this fragmented "Salammbô" brilliantly. His aim, as he said in a press conference before the premiere, was simply to present an unfinished work, to make no attempt to impose on it a coherence from outside.

For a prologue, he brought on stage a young man in mid-19th-century costume, light beige suit and straw hat. Another young man, at the other side of the stage, stood at a piano and played a brief passage occasionally.

These were Flambert and Mussorgsky, and as they moved, two voices from a loudspeaker quoted the letters of the novelist and the composer, in French and in Russian, each musing about the genesis

of his work. It was a daring stroke on the director's part; and even if few in the audience understood the words, the scene conveyed the tone of the production, its unassertive simplicity.

Originally, the chief roles in the work were to have been sung by Russian singers, but at the last minute the Soviet Ministry of Culture denied them visas. Annabelle Bernard came from the Deutsche Oper Berlin, without a word of Russian, without having seen the score, and in two weeks was ready. Under the circumstances, one can only be grateful that she saved the show. The voice is not that opulent. Slavic mezzo the music demands, but she sang with great musicality and moved with dignity and grace.

Boris Balkov was an impressive Matho, and William Stone sang the opening Balearic islander's song with dash and vocal power. An exciting evening.

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# Columbian Commissioned to Do Mural for UN



Alejandro Obregon, with "Peace" figure.

By Juan de Onis  
International Herald Tribune

CARTAGENA, Colombia — Alejandro Obregon, who has created a magical, violent world of motion and color inspired by the Caribbean nations, has been commissioned to do a major mural at the UN Secretariat Building in New York.

In Bermuda shorts, leather sandals and a paint-stained T-shirt, the powerfully built painter, with hands like a bricklayer, is working on the hundreds of drawings and measurements necessary to project his mural onto a wall 10 meters long and 5 meters high.

"I like to think of this as a figure, a liberation of the long wall. The primary objective of a mural is to be decorative, so I don't want to get into any heavy message," said Obregon.

But he does plan to use as a dominant motif a female figure that in one of his recent paintings represents "the Victory of Peace."

Although he studied in France and became a devotee of Picasso, his work is very much influenced by his surroundings — the living experience of the sea and mountains, and the natural symbols of strength and speed that are the bulls and eagles and barracudas of Colombia.

Obregon, 54, is a friend and drinking companion of Gabriel García Márquez, the Nobel Prize-winning Colombian novelist, who is also a product of the country's Caribbean coast. In an introduction to a catalog for a recent exposition of Obregon's work at the Organization of American States in Washington, García Márquez wrote:

"He paints, really, as if he were fishing up drowned men out of the darkness. His paintings, with horizons of thunder, come out dripping with fighting minotaur, patriotic condors, lusty goats, bellowing barracudas. In the midst of this stormy fauna of his personal mythology walks a woman crowned with Doreenite garlands, the impossible creature for whom this reinforced-concrete romantic wants to die."

More and more, this creature of beauty and youth is identified with peace in Obregon's symbolism. But this does not reduce the vitality, the achievement of a sense of motion, like a Caribbean hurricane turned into colors, that is the most distinctive feature of Obregon's paintings and murals, which are done in acrylic.

Obregon said he hoped to be able to start on the UN mural during the world body's summer recess. He works at a furious pace, and he expects to have the mural finished in less than a month.

**East German Choral Visit**  
The Associated Press  
LONDON — Fifty choristers from the cathedrals of Canterbury and Rochester will sing in East Germany, the Church of England said. The 10-day tour, part of celebrations for the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's birth, starts April 9 in Dresden, followed by services and concerts in eight other cities.

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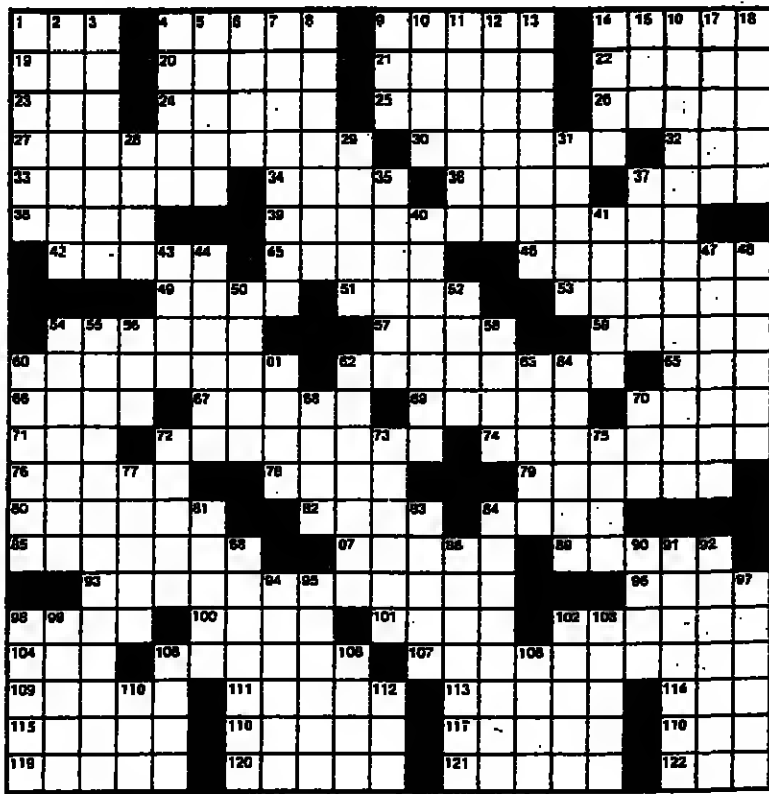
1 Message  
4 Medieval helmet  
14 Nobel in Literature  
19 Gibbon  
20 Kind of squash  
21 Charter  
22 Ammann's sect  
23 Avair, weights  
24 Rent snow  
25 Artistic trunk  
26 Nouveau  
27 English songbird  
29 Certain monuments  
32 Half a sucker  
33 Supreme Court member  
34 Babulonia et al.  
36 Command to a canine  
37 Stable  
38 Shepherd-Turpin gun  
39 Incandescent linguist  
42 Overwhelm

**DOWN**

1 Bellamy and Edwards  
2 Certain baton strokes  
3 Scatter about  
4 Hood  
5 Lindy's hurdle  
6 Looker  
7 W. V. I.  
8 Key the Orient Express  
9 Beef  
10 mode  
11 Speed Wagon  
12 First Fjort  
13 Lady  
14 Admiralty  
15 Gunpowder  
16 Custody

# CROSSWORD PUZZLE

Initial Drop By John M. Samson



**DOWN**

15 Gaston, to Alphonse  
16 Actress who destroyed her Emmy  
17 Peck's early job  
18 Radiance  
19 Elbow-wrist link  
20 Tartan  
21 Lawless who made his mark  
22 A Khan  
23 Defiant soundly  
24 Islands, near Fla.  
25 Sediment  
26 Box or Ouida  
27 R.R. the road  
28 Protuberant

**DOWN**

35 Silk filament  
36 Odini's  
37 Faint  
38 Entomb, in a way  
39 "Fables"

**DOWN**

44 Satisfy  
45 Tempt  
46 "Gentlemen,  
47 De Soto  
48 contemporary  
49 Property insurance  
50 Short journalistic addendum  
51 Lawless who made his mark  
52 A Khan  
53 Defiant soundly  
54 Islands, near Fla.  
55 Sediment  
56 Box or Ouida  
57 R.R. the road  
58 Protuberant

**DOWN**

61 Sequa  
62 Apprentice  
63 Scold  
64 Altogether  
65 Discourages  
66 Man, e.g.  
67 Naah forte  
68 Commands  
69 Soprano Moffo

**DOWN**

103 Absolute  
104 Tired  
105 Noah's eldest son  
106 Author Wiles  
110 Summer, in  
112 Dadaist  
113 Jean

## BOOKS

### ADVENTURES IN THE SCREEN TRADE

A Personal View of Hollywood and Screenwriting  
By William Goldman. 418 pp. \$17.50.  
Warner Books, 75 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10019.

Reviewed by Christopher Lehmann-Haupt

ABOUT a third of the way into "Adventures in the Screen Trade"—a nuts-and-bolts account of the experiences of a successful Hollywood screenwriter—William Goldman observes that at this point in its history, the U.S. film industry, for better or worse (though probably for worse), is depending increasingly on "comic-book movies."

By this term, Goldman doesn't mean just films such as "E.T.," "Star Wars," "Raiders of the Lost Ark," "Annie," and "Conan the Barbarian." In his definition, "The Deer Hunter" is a comic-book movie because, "in spite of its skill and the seriousness of its subject matter," nothing really happens to threaten the All-American hero played by Robert De Niro. Whereas Walt Disney's "Bambi," though an animated film, is not a comic-book movie, because Bambi's mother dies, and that was deeply disturbing.

This point is typical of Goldman—shrewd, practical, economical, and slightly more tough-minded than critically penetrating. But the strongest effect

it had on this particular reader was to get him thinking about the lower forms of literature and thus to remind him how much Goldman's book suggests another type of pop writing.

For "Adventures in the Screen Trade" is printed in blocky type on fairly pulpy paper. It makes its rather obvious points using up-to-date clichés such as "hopefully" (as in "a hopelessly successful screenplay"), "terribly" (as in "terribly limited"), and sentences that begin with the word "Plus."

Except for its lack of cartoon illustrations—especially the ones in the upper corners that seem to move when you flip the pages—"Adventures in the Screen Trade" reminded me of nothing so much as one of those Big Little books that were popular just before the age of the comic.

This is not altogether a bad thing. First, it helps Goldman to pull off "The Trick," which, in an interview late in the book, the cinematographer Gordon Willis ("The Godfather," "Kluge," "All the President's Men") defines as a film maker's ability "to take something that's very sophisticated and reduce it to something very simple. So that it reads out in a good way to an audience." Willis goes on to say, "That's hard, because not too many people understand simplicity. They equate it with 'no good.'"

For another thing, Goldman's direct, somewhat simple-minded approach enables him to achieve naturalism in his book. He gossips. He tries to get even with some of the people he feels have done him wrong, like Carl Bernstein and his then-wife Nora Ephron, who in the midst of Goldman's collaboration with the producer (and co-star) Robert

Redford on "All the President's Men," had what Goldman feels was the temerity to offer their own script for the film and thus attempt to undermine his own worthwhile contribution.

He tells us how to do it all, as well how he himself sometimes did it and sometimes didn't. He informs us how it should be done and why it often isn't. He even reprints an old short story of his called "Da Vinci," then transforms it into a screenplay before our eyes, and finally discusses the results with various professionals, from the designer Tony Walton to the director George Roy Hill, who offer their responses to the hypothetical problems of actually shooting "Da Vinci."

But the ultimate result of Goldman's approach is unpleasantly reductive and success-oriented. Everything seems to depend for its quality on whether it works with the largest audience and brings in the biggest megabucks. All that seems to matter is numbers. Of course this too may not be such a terrible thing. Probably it's what the U.S. film industry is all about, and Goldman is simply displaying the colors of his environment.

But finally his approach blows up in his face. That short story called "Da Vinci" he reprints is a slightly schmalzy but essentially rather charming sketch about an idiosyncratic barber who gives "beautiful" haircuts, despite the inordinate time he takes. But instead of rooting for Goldman to pull off the considerable trick of transforming the tonorial profession into a cinematic metaphor for the artist, we find ourselves thinking, as Goldman has taught us to do, that it won't work, it's precious and ludicrous, Hollywood will never go for it.

And when the director George Roy Hill—who's most successful films, such as "The Godfather," "The Sting," "The World According to Garp," are nothing if not elaborate mechanical contrivances that "work"—proceeds to attack the screenplay of "Da Vinci" for its cinematic impracticality, instead of being disappointed, we feel vindicated. We feel we have got the hang of the trade.

Of course credit must be given Goldman for including Hill's remarks and thus placing instruction above the needs of ego. But the lesson he draws from Hill is not so enlightening. "Of the Da Vinci interviews, Hill was alone in much of what he felt. But that doesn't make him wrong. And if the others had agreed, in part or in whole with his insights, that wouldn't necessarily make me wrong. But it just may."

Christopher Lehmann-Haupt is on the staff of The New York Times.

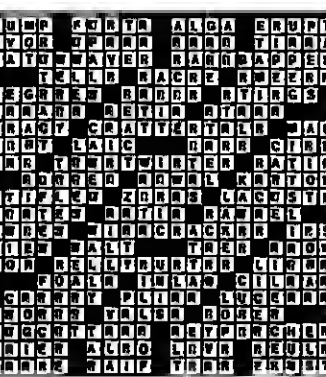
### DENNIS THE MENACE



## WEATHER

EUROPE	HIGH	LOW	ASIA	HIGH	LOW
Algeria	16	41	12	24	6
Amsterdam	14	48	14	12	24
Antwerp	14	48	14	12	24
Berlin	12	52	7	48	6
Brussels	12	52	7	48	6
Cardiff	12	52	7	48	6
Copenhagen	12	52	7	48	6
Dublin	12	52	7	48	6
Edinburgh	12	52	7	48	6
Geneva	12	52	7	48	6
Hamburg	12	52	7	48	6
London	12	52	7	48	6
Lyon	12	52	7	48	6
Moscow	12	52	7	48	6
Munich	12	52	7	48	6
Nairobi	12	52	7	48	6
Paris	12	52	7	48	6
Rome	12	52	7	48	6
Stockholm	12	52	7	48	6
Vienna	12	52	7	48	6
Warsaw	12	52	7	48	6
Zurich	12	52	7	48	6
MIDDLE EAST					
Amman	25	88	4	42	6
Bahra	27	81	22	72	6
Dubai	22	73	17	25	6
Jakarta	24	73	17	25	6
Tel Aviv	28	82	18	54	6
OCEANIA					
Auckland	20	58	14	14	6
Sydney	22	58	14	14	6

### Solution to Last Week's Puzzle



## A's to Give Henderson Carte Blanche on the Base Paths

OAKLAND — About 8:10 P.M. Monday night, if he has opened the first game of the new baseball season with a single or walk, Rickey Henderson could record his first stolen base of 1983.

Last year, as the leadoff batter for the Oakland A's, Henderson stole a record 130 bases, breaking Lou Brock's old mark by 12. To some, 130 may seem like a barrier. To Henderson, it is only a record to shoot at.

"No numbers are impossible, even the 130," he says. "What it all comes down to is how badly do I want it."

Should he get on base Monday night in the opener against the Cleveland Indians, Henderson will be free to run. Last year he might not have been so free because Billy Martin, who managed Oakland last year, called the shots. But the new manager, Steve Boros, has given Henderson carte blanche to run.

"It's up to him," says Boros, whose passion for base stealing is second to no manager's. "The only time he won't steal is when we hold him up. Otherwise, he's on his own. I think it would be foolish to put restrictions on someone like Rickey."

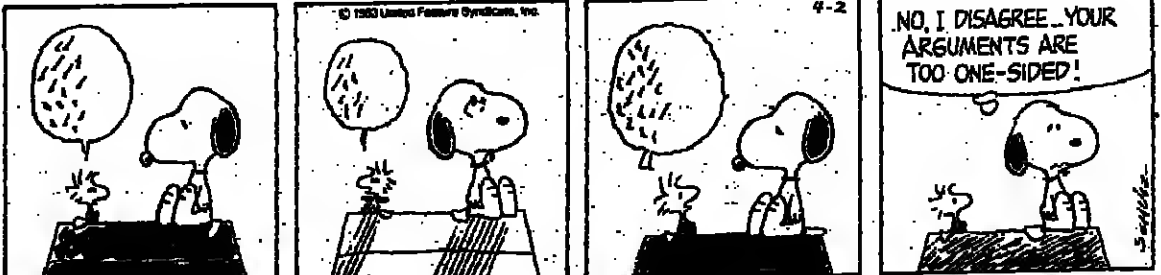
Paves the way should be recalled, worked with Willie Wilson, the Kansas City Royals' speed-burner, when he was a coach under Whitey Herzog. And he was with the Montreal Expos as a coach during the seasons when Tim Lincecum stole 71 and 78 bases.

"There is no better illustration in my mind of how speed makes a difference than last year's World Series," Boros explains. "If you have the runners, as did the Cardinals, you turn them loose."

Henderson likes the idea of being on his own to steal. But he points out that being an all-around player is more important to him than another record.

Last year, for instance, he batted .267 and hit only 10 homers. "I feel I can do better than that,"

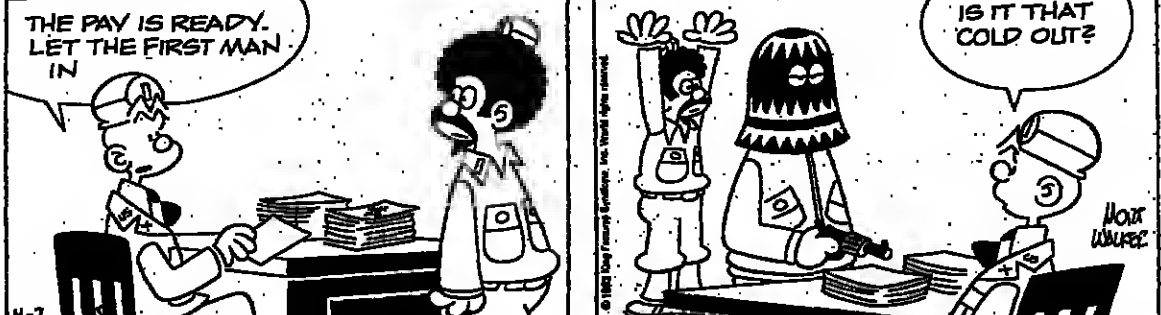
### PEANUTS



### BLONDIE



### BETTER BAILEY



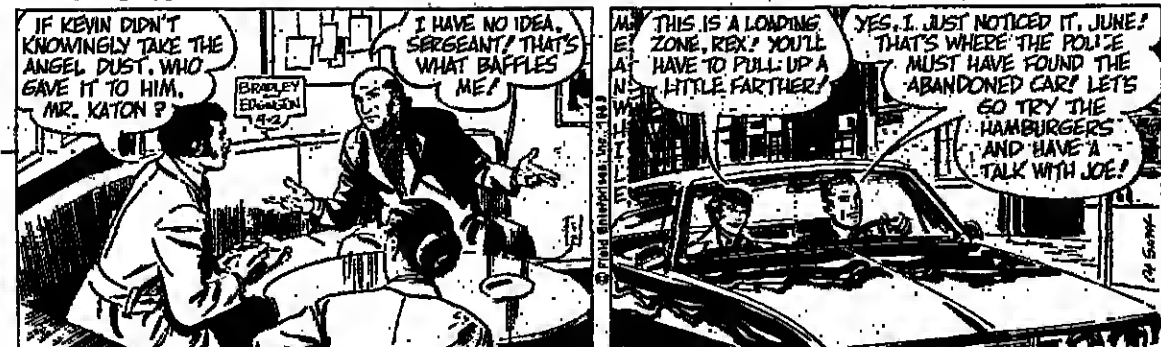
### ANDY CAPP



### WIZARD of ID



### REX MORGAN



### GARFIELD



## Transition

TEXAS—Released Lomax-Johnson, first baseman, and Dan Warner, catcher, to the Oklahoma City of the American Association. Released Denny Darnell, Dave Schmidt, pitchers, to the Houston Astros.

ATLANTA—Released Paul Runnels, infielder, to the International League and Brian Fisher, pitcher, to the Southern League. Released Steve Swisher, catcher, and Larry Williams, outfielder, to the International League. Released Iván Añez, shortstop, to the Los Angeles Dodgers for Mike Wilson, pitcher.

OAKLAND—Cal First baseman and Dave McGraw, pitcher, and Tim Lincecum, pitcher, to the Cleveland Indians. Released Jeff Jones, pitcher, to the Tacoma of the Pacific Coast League.

SEATTLE—Released Jim Mauer, first baseman, to the Seattle Mariners. Released Steve Boros, manager, to the Kansas City Royals. Released Brian Anderson, pitcher, to the Los Angeles Dodgers. Released Jeff Jones, pitcher, to the Tacoma of the Pacific Coast League.

ST. LOUIS—Released Kelly Parks, infielder, to the Cincinnati Reds in exchange for Jim Stoen, pitcher, and expanded pitcher to the St. Louis Cardinals.

SAN DIEGO—Released Ron Taylor and Bruce Bochy, catchers, to the Los Angeles Dodgers. Released Jeff Jones, pitcher, to the Tacoma of the Pacific Coast League.

SAN FRANCISCO—Released Mark Colborn, pitcher, and Jeff Reardon, pitcher, to the Los Angeles Dodgers. Released Jeff Jones, pitcher, to the Tacoma of the Pacific Coast League.

ARIZONA—Released Wally Henry, wide receiver-kick returner, to a two-year contract.

## Exhibition Baseball

Thursday's Games  
Pittsburgh 2, Boston 1  
Cleveland 14, St. Louis 3  
Cincinnati 4, Detroit 10  
Atlanta 4, Kansas City 5  
Milwaukee 5, Texas 3  
New York (A) 4, Houston 5  
Chicago (NL) 16, San Francisco 7  
Oakland 14, Milwaukee 13  
Cleveland 12, Seattle 2  
California 5, San Diego 2  
Montreal 2, New York (NL) 2  
Baltimore 14, U. of Miami 7

Friday's Games  
Pittsburgh 2, Boston 1  
Cleveland 14, St. Louis 3  
Cincinnati 4, Detroit 10  
Atlanta 4, Kansas City 5  
Milwaukee 5, Texas 3  
New York (A) 4, Houston 5  
Chicago (NL) 16, San Francisco 7  
Oakland 14, Milwaukee 13  
Cleveland 12, Seattle 2  
California 5, San Diego 2  
Montreal 2, New York (NL) 2  
Baltimore 14, U. of Miami 7

Rickey Henderson saluting after he tied Lou Brock's record last Aug. 26.



## ***Borg Reflects on the Highs and Lows of an Eventful Career***

■ **Purcell Reaches Semifinals**

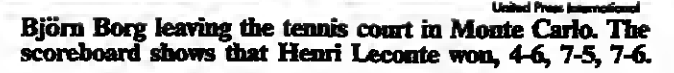
Mal Purcell beat Shlomo Glickstein on Friday, 6-0, 7-6, to reach the semifinals of the Monte Carlo Open, United Press International reported. The three other scheduled quarterfinals were postponed until Saturday because of heavy rain.

Purcell outplayed Glickstein from the baseline and threatened to overwhelm him as he sped through the first 10 games.

The Israeli then settled down and produced the form that allowed him to upset Ivan Lendl in the first round, making several sorties to the net and winning a string of points as Purcell failed to pass him. But his revival faltered after he won five successive games to lead, 5-4, in the second set. Purcell responded to noise in front, 6-4, and then won the tiebreaker.

The tournament referee, Bernard Nord, said that the players agreed to reschedule the remaining quarterfinals for Saturday morning and hold the semifinals in the afternoon. But the weather forecast was for more rain, and it was expected that the final might be pushed back to Monday.

Two years ago the final between Jimmy Connors and Guillermo Vilas was washed out with the match tied at 5-5 in the first set. It was never completed.



In winning the gross-revenues guarantee, the basketball players essentially won what the football players were unable to win in their strike last fall. The football union had demanded 55 percent of gross revenues.

Ed Garvey, executive director of the football players' union, said that he was delighted by what the basketball players had achieved. He said that the basketball contract would assist all other pro athletes.

He insisted that the football players, in putting forth the gross-revenue proposal, had assisted the basketball players, and that the basketball contract "will help us."

The football players are guaranteed a compensation level but not a stipulated percentage of profits. In future football negotiations, Garvey said, the union's goals will center on "not what a few players get but on the percentage of profits that goes to compensation."

He said that revenue sharing, such as that contained in the basketball agreement, was "the only thing that makes sense in professional sports."

coaching career from Johns Hopkins to Bucknell to Iona to North Carolina State. At first, he made \$111,000 a year.

Jim Valvano's charm brought Iona to the 9 o'clock game in the Garden and a victory over Louisville, but he later brought pain to Iona by leaving for North Carolina State. Some of his Iona players had expected him to be there for their entire college careers, and were hurt when he left, particularly Jeff Raboin, the center who later left school after it was revealed that he had violated amateur rules by consulting an agent.

"We don't like to talk about that," Rocky Valvano says. "My son was close to the kids at Iona, and he was hurt by some things that were said. He's close to the kids at North Carolina State, too. That's what it's all about."

"I tell him that all the time: 'Jimmy, they may be in college but they're still kids. They look up to you for guidance.' You go to Jim-

the game in America today, with its rank as the fastest-growing team participatory sport, it is shocking that FIFA would not personally examine our country and give us the opportunity to show them what we can do.

"I think their action is an insult," says only to the soccer federation of North America, which also to President Reagan and Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada, both of whom have expressed their individual enthusiasm for hosting the World Cup."

Sarmies said that Mexico had exerted enormous political pressure to secure the World Cup. "The question, though," he said, "is if for any reason Mexico is eventually rejected, will the World Cup be moved to Europe? This would be an insult to North and South America."

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**LEARN SPANISH IN MALAGA,** New York City, 10-15 students, level 1, from April to Sept and ballet teachers. From 16 April to 30 April and from 1 May to 15 May. Instructors: Holi College, Tel. 624-4485.

**INTENSIVE SPANISH CLASS OF SOL**, Audiotextual class, board available. American Studies Program, University of Colorado, 9, Malaga, Spain. Tel. 212329.

*United Press International*  
ST. LOUIS — Denny Crum, who has directed the Louisville Cardinals into the NCAA Final Four for the fifth time in 12 years, has been named as the College Basketball Coach of the Year by The Sporting News.

Crum was selected Thursday by editors and correspondents of the weekly publication.

The Cardinals will carry a 32-3 record into Saturday's semifinal game against Houston in Albuquerque, New Mexico. This is the 12th straight season in which Crum, 46, has won at least 20 games. His career coaching record is 295-71.

**AGEN, France (Reuters)**—Sean Kelly, the Irish bicycling star, has been injured in a crash and will be out of action for a month, team officials announced.

Kelly broke a collar bone, his left thumb and badly gashed his head Thursday in a crash during the first stage of the Midi-Pyrenees four-day race. He won the International Critérium last weekend and the Paris-Nice classic earlier in March.

WALES CONFERENCE				
	W	L	T	Pts
Wales	12	3	1	24
Wales A	12	3	1	24
Wales B	12	3	1	24
Wales C	12	3	1	24
Wales D	12	3	1	24
Wales E	12	3	1	24
Wales F	12	3	1	24
Wales G	12	3	1	24
Wales H	12	3	1	24
Wales I	12	3	1	24
Wales J	12	3	1	24
Wales K	12	3	1	24
Wales L	12	3	1	24
Wales M	12	3	1	24
Wales N	12	3	1	24
Wales O	12	3	1	24
Wales P	12	3	1	24
Wales Q	12	3	1	24
Wales R	12	3	1	24
Wales S	12	3	1	24
Wales T	12	3	1	24
Wales U	12	3	1	24
Wales V	12	3	1	24
Wales W	12	3	1	24
Wales X	12	3	1	24
Wales Y	12	3	1	24
Wales Z	12	3	1	24
Wales AA	12	3	1	24
Wales AB	12	3	1	24
Wales AC	12	3	1	24
Wales AD	12	3	1	24
Wales AE	12	3	1	24
Wales AF	12	3	1	24
Wales AG	12	3	1	24
Wales AH	12	3	1	24
Wales AI	12	3	1	24
Wales AJ	12	3	1	24
Wales AK	12	3	1	24
Wales AL	12	3	1	24
Wales AM	12	3	1	24
Wales AN	12	3	1	24
Wales AO	12	3	1	24
Wales AP	12	3	1	24
Wales AQ	12	3	1	24
Wales AR	12	3	1	24
Wales AS	12	3	1	24
Wales AT	12	3	1	24
Wales AU	12	3	1	24
Wales AV	12	3	1	24
Wales AW	12	3	1	24
Wales AX	12	3	1	24
Wales AY	12	3	1	24
Wales AZ	12	3	1	24
Wales BA	12	3	1	24
Wales BB	12	3	1	24
Wales BC	12	3	1	24
Wales BD	12	3	1	24
Wales BE	12	3	1	24
Wales BF	12	3	1	24
Wales BG	12	3	1	24
Wales BH	12	3	1	24
Wales BI	12	3	1	24
Wales BJ	12	3	1	24
Wales BK	12	3	1	24
Wales BL	12	3	1	24
Wales BM	12	3	1	24
Wales BN	12	3	1	24
Wales BO	12	3	1	24
Wales BP	12	3	1	24
Wales BQ	12	3	1	24
Wales BR	12	3	1	24
Wales BS	12	3	1	24
Wales BT	12	3	1	24
Wales BU	12	3	1	24
Wales BV	12	3	1	24
Wales BW	12	3	1	24
Wales BX	12	3	1	24
Wales BY	12	3	1	24
Wales BZ	12	3	1	24
Wales CA	12	3	1	24
Wales CB	12	3	1	24
Wales CC	12	3	1	24
Wales CD	12	3	1	24
Wales CE	12	3	1	24
Wales CF	12	3	1	24
Wales CG	12	3	1	24
Wales CH	12	3	1	24
Wales CI	12			

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